Daily Report

East Europe

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Zhelev Urges Nation To Push For Reforms

AU0401123696 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 Jan 96 p 8

[New Year's address by President Zhelyu Zhelev, delivered on national radio and television on 31 December]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear fellow countrymen:

In a few minutes, when the hands of the clock show that the new year has begun, people will wish one another good health, happiness, and good luck. I too would very much have liked to begin by doing just this. However, since the realization of my wishes depends on other institutions and because I do not want my good wishes to be merely formal, permit me, first of all, to address those who have to lead Bulgaria on its road toward salvation. Let me address the responsible institutions of state that under the Constitution are called upon to guarantee and implement the reforms.

My wishes to the Bulgarian Government are that it should at long last find the strength in itself to return the farmland to its owners within its real boundaries, by notarial acts and without any further complications. The Bulgarian peasant must cease to be a serf and must become an owner, a truly free and economically independent man. I hope that we will live to see privatization carried out in practice, a privatization that is honest, decent, legal, and transparent. I hope that next year we will see at least one of the feudal barons of organized crime who strut freely in our streets fairly sentenced and sent to prison.

My wishes to parliament are that it should finally pass the children's protection act, the health care act, and other important social laws. I also wish for it to adopt a democratic law on the national media that conforms to European requirements and standards.

My wishes to the parliamentary majority are that it should cease being scared by the word "NATO" and stop frightening others with this word. To the ruling Socialist Party, I wish that it will start to carry out the election campaign promises that it made more than a year ago.

To the parliamentary opposition, I wish that it will unite its efforts so as to effectively perform the role of a corrective in relation to the ruling majority that is characteristic of established democracies. And to you, the millions of citizens of Bulgaria—burdened with toil, patient, and tenacious, who have suffered so many undeserved troubles and misfortunes—I can only offer my homage and most sincerely wish, first and foremost, that you and your dear ones remain healthy and strong, and that you succeed in all your good endeavors and ventures in the new year, because your successes will be Bulgaria's successes.

I know that in the long and difficult period of transition, many are already fatigued, disheartened, and disillusioned. I know that they have enough serious reasons for these feelings. However, I am convinced that the citizens of Bulgaria, their alert conscience and political activity, are the final bastion of our hopes for the reforms and progress. They are the people who, through their united efforts, can exert pressure on the institutions, compel them to carry out the reforms, and force them to fulfill their election campaign promises.

This is why I permit myself to appeal to you on this New Year's Eve: Despite your fatigue and disillusionment, do not allow yourselves to be overcome by apathy, and even less by fear. These are the most dangerous allies of lawlessness, deprivation of rights, and dictatorship, and the best soil for the growth of organized crime, corruption, and the mafia.

I believe that our people will succeed despite everything. You, the citizens of Bulgaria, are the guarantee for this; another guarantee is the integration of our country into Europe, which obliges us to move forward.

Democratic Party Head Supports Zhelev Candidacy

AU0301174896 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Democratic Party [DP] leader Stefan Savov, at present in Bulgaria, there is no more worthy or electable candidate in the upcoming presidential elections than President Zhelyu Zhelev.

According to Savov, in the final analysis, the opposition could unite around the candidacy of the incumbent president.

The DP leader made this statement to journalists after meeting President Zhelev.

OSD Demands Agriculture Minister's Resignation

AU0301190896 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Vasil Chichibaba, minister of agriculture and food processing, must assume responsibility for the grain affair and resign, said Georgi Bliznashki, member of the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] leadership within the Bulgarian Socialist Party, on 3 January at a news conference. It also was pointed out at the news conference that the grain affair is a fact, and that the minister of agriculture should not hide behind the cabinet.

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The OSD leadership thinks that the Socialist cabinet should not back any economic group, but only play the role of an arbiter.

According to OSD leader Chavdar Kyuranov, President Zhelyu Zhelev missed the opportunity to emerge as a factor that unites the nation in his New Year's greeting message.

OSD Amends Position

AU0301190996 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Chavdar Kyuranov, leader of the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] within the Bulgarian Socialist Party, said in a statement for BTA that, earlier today at an OSD news conference on the grain affair, an OSD member and participant in the news conference expressed his personal opinion, according to which responsibility must be demanded from Vasil Chichibaba, minister of agriculture and food processing, and that he should possibly resign. This is not the position of the OSD as a whole, and, already at the news conference, it was pointed out that the specific people responsible for the affair must be unmasked, Kyuranov said.

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Report of Imminent Cabinet Changes Denied

AU0301144596

[FBIS Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers of 30 December publish a number of denials of a newspaper report on planned changes in the composition of the Slovak Government.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 29 December on page 2 carries a 300-word CTK report entitled "KOSICKY VECER on Personnel Changes Being Allegedly Prepared in the Government." The report quotes the 28 December issue of the Kosice evening paper KOSICKY VECER as saying, with reference to unidentified "well-informed sources," that "changes in some Slovak Government posts are being prepared." According to the KOSICKY VECER report, the number of Slovak Cabinet members who are from Kosice is to be expanded from two (Construction Minister Jan Mraz and Transport and Communications Minister Alexander Rezes) to four: "Vojtech Tkac, state secretary at the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family, is to replace in the ministerial post Olga Keltosova, who should depart for the diplomatic service. The other new minister from Kosice should be Jan Smerek, president of the East Slovak Ironworks [VSZ], who should become chief of a new ministry, the Ministry of Information Science [Ministerstvo Informatiky]." According to the Kosice daily, Jan Smerek's position as VSZ president could be taken up by Julius Rezes, son of Minister Alexander Rezes, who is now VSZ financial director.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 30 December on page 1, under the headline "Government Office and People Named Deny Information on Changes in the Government," carries a 300-word TASR roundup of reactions to the KOSICKY VECER report. The roundup states that Slovak Government spokeswoman Ludmila Bulakova "did not confirm" the KOSICKY VECER report on planned changes in Vladimir Meciar's government, adding that "the government has not dealt" with this issue. The report then quotes a statement issued by Jan Smerek, according to which the VSZ president "does not know that he should become a member of the Slovak Government" and is "unable to say anything about this because no one has approached" him regarding this matter. Finally, the roundup quotes a statement issued by the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family, which "denied the report on Minister Olga Keltosova's departure for the diplomatic service and the subsequent promotion of State Secretary Vojtech Tkac."

SDL Chairman on Party Policy in 1996

LD0301144196 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the first news conference this year of representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] was still somewhat festive, they also talked about serious political and social questions. They talked about SDL policy in 1996, about the April congress, and about other problems on the home political scene. At the end of the news conference, Bernard Hornak interviewed SDL Chairman Peter Weiss:

[Begin recording] [Hornak] Together with SDL Deputy Chairwoman Brigita Schmoegnerova, you were very critical at the news conference of the politics and economy of our country in 1996.

[Weiss] In the fourth year of independent existence of the Slovak Republic, in our view one has to change the manner in which politics is conducted, the priorities of politics must be changed. In our view, the basic thing is modernization and priority investment into people, education, culture, training people for changed conditions, investment into research and development and into the health of the population, as well as the creation of new labor opportunities and the reduction of unemployment. We think that the budget and the overall economic policy, from the point of view of basic modernization trends, are insufficient at the moment.

[Hornak] In April, your party will have a congress. Do you assume that after the congress the new leadership will change the current course [illegible]olitics, I mean the possible entry of the SDL into the government coalition?

[Weiss] The SDL is preparing its congress so it may be the result of democratic assessment of all the principle questions of the SDL's further aims as the strongest left-wing political party in Slovak society. There will be a discussion, and all of the fundamental decisions will have to be accepted by the congress. No small group of people in the background will decide about them.

As to the various speculations about the SDL's entry into the government, I would like to say that it was not the SDL but the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] that closed the door on the SDL's possible entry into the government by the way it was conducting talks on government entry after the elections, by simply laying down inadequate political conditions, by asking us to shorten the president's term of office, by asking

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for various changes in the SDL. Those who think the SDL can simply join this government coalition with the composition it has at the moment are wrong. The SDL will not be willing to cover up the privatization morass existing in society. The SDL will not join in the trends of the Slovak National Party or a section of the HZDS—that is, trends to rehabilitate the regime of the Nazi wartime Slovak state, to rehabilitate the president of this state, Jozef Tiso. [end recording]

Valo to Kovac: Meciar Not Meddling in Prosecution

AU0401123596 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by TASR: "Michal Kovac and Michal Valo Discuss Independence and Apolitical Nature of Prosecutor's Office"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Michal Kovac, president of the Slovak Republic, met with Michal Valo, prosecutor general of the Slovak Republic, on 29 December to mutually clarify, in the wake of an interview with Michal Kovac published in the Austrian daily SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN on 15 November, questions related to the independence and apolitical nature of the Prosecutor's Office of the Slovak Republic. The Office of the President of the Slovak Republic informed TASR about the meeting yesterday. According to this information, it was pointed out at the meeting that the translation of Michal Kovac's interview into German was imprecise because the president was not speaking about the judiciary and the state prosecutor [as being answerable to the prime minister] but about the Slovak Information Service, the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, and the prosecutor general. At the same time, Michal Kovac received with satisfaction Michal Valo's assurance that the independence of the Prosecutor's Office of the Slovak Republic is being consistently respected and that the Slovak prime minister does not interfere in its activity. At the same time, Michal Kovac informed the prosecutor general about some phenomena that had aroused his suspicion of interference in the activity of the Prosecutor's Office.

Official Explains Application of Language Law

AU0301212596 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jan 96 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Milan Ferko, director of the State Language and National Literature Section of the Slovak Ministry of Culture, by Marcela Kostalova; place and date not given: "There Is No Need To Fear the Language Law"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Kostalova] The Law on the State Language of the Slovak Republic, whose approval during the November plenary session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] was accompanied by many emotions, went into effect on 1 January 1996. Conflicting reactions to this law, at home as well as abroad, continue, in fact, to this day. Let us therefore say what practical significance this law will have for us citizens; how it will make itself felt, so to speak.

[Ferko] The law on the state language means the consummation of statehood in this spiritual sphere. It means the completion of one of the pillars of the independent and democratic Slovak Republic. It gives citizens the guarantee that they will be able to communicate in the Slovak language throughout state territory, so that no linguistic barriers arise between them, because it enables everyone with insufficient command of the Slovak language to set this right in the near future. But, at the same time, it means the consummation of a process that started even before the founding of our republic—for example, when the law on the protection of the consumer was passed, which guarantees the right of citizens to receive all information in the state language.

[Kostalova] During the drafting of the law, but also in the course of the parliamentary debate, the claim was often made that its wording restricts minority rights.

[Ferko] This is not true! The existing rights to use the languages of ethnic minorities are sufficiently solved, for example, by Article 34 of the Constitution. However, there exist also other legislative provisions at various levels, to which new ones will apparently be added, one by one.

[Kostalova] The general public takes interest in the problem of dubbing movies and television programs. The main objection was that the law would lead to the complete eradication of the Czech language.

[Ferko] These objections were a product of the propaganda by some ill-wishers, and they also reflected the understandable struggle of Czech media for their rights on the Slovak market. We therefore incorporated into the law the provision that programs for adults that are comprehensible in terms of the state language need not be dubbed. Slavic languages, in particular, are meant by this, which naturally also includes Czech. It is, however, our duty to protect children, whose linguistic capabilities are only taking shape. Everything for children up to age 12 must therefore be dubbed (this is also laid down

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in the law on audiovisual media). Only features with a minimum of the spoken word, such as nature documentaries, can be exempted from this obligation and can only be subtitled.

[Kostalova] The law's provisions on sanctions arouse attention. The sanctions concern two areas: the installation of special language "inspectors," who will monitor the law's observance, and the system of financial fines.

[Ferko] I would like to say, first of all, that the fears being spread in some places are groundless. The humanistic and cultured nature of this law is documented also by the fact that the levying of fines has been postponed until 1997. The year awaiting us now will be a year of linguistic education, in which we will be enlightening citizens about the language, in cooperation with other institutions, making available new textbooks, organizing courses, and training not "inspectors," as you said, but linguistic advisers. It seems that, initially, they will operate as part of district libraries, but we do not rule out that this could still change. We are open to all proposals, which is why the final status of the linguistic advisers will be worked out only in the second half of 1996.

[Kostalova] Eventually, the fines will come anyway, however. Who will be affected by them, and in which cases?

[Ferko] The basic dividing line comes with entry into public life. That is, when an entrepreneur uses various forms of advertising, when he gives his products certain names, publishes some accompanying text, and the like. Naturally, the law also fully applies to the mass media, to the sphere of state public service, and so forth. The following procedure will be applied: In the case of a mistake, the linguistic adviser will first alert the entrepreneur or operator to this mistake, and they will jointly agree on the date and manner of its rectification. If the mistake is not set right, a written notice will come that will specify the time of rectification and the envisaged fine. If, once again, no remedial action is taken, the fine itself will follow. However, the citizen can appeal against the fine to the minister of culture and, subsequently, to the court. I repeat, however, that throughout 1996 this whole process will take place without any financial sanctions.

[Kostalova] But where will citizens learn by which principles they must abide so as not to violate the letter of the language law?

[Ferko] There already exists a ministerial decree on the linguistic norm, which states that *The Rules of Slovak Orthography*, *The Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language*, and *The Rules of Slovak Pronunciation* serve as foundations. A *Large Dictionary of the Slovak Language* will be published in 1996, under the auspices of the Slovak Ministry of Culture, and, apparently, a High Advisory Board, made up of the best experts in this field, will be established, which will assist the minister of culture in the sphere of theoretical linguistic problems. [passage omitted]

TU Leader Says Limits of Patience Exhausted

AU0301193796 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jan 96 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Marian Lacko, vice president of the Confederation of Trade Unions of the Slovak Republic, by Livia Cernicka; place and date not given: "Limits of Patience Exhausted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The present situation over the signing of the General Agreement for 1996 is usually referred to as a deadlock. We spoke with Marian Lacko, vice president of the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ] of the Slovak Republic, about the reasons.

[Cernicka] The view has been heard from the side of the government that, if the General Agreement is not signed, the Council of Economic and Social Accord (RHSD) will lose its raison d'etre. Could the failure to conclude the General Agreement be a reason for the tripartite council to cease to exist?

[Lacko] Should the General Agreement for 1996 not be signed, the General Agreement for 1995, which, if I am not mistaken, is to be valid until 31 March, will retain its validity. But the RHSD is a forum of social partnership that serves negotiations on all kinds of issues, not just on those that are part of the General Agreement. The RHSD would operate even if the General Agreement is not signed. It has its own statutes, and its existence is not tied to the signing of the General Agreement.

[Cernicka] You said "according to our conviction." But there have already been instances of the social partners failing to agree on the interpretation of the RHSD statutes.

[Lacko] The existence of statutes or agreements is not decisive. What really matters is the readiness to negotiate. If the endeavor to look for solutions is lacking, one always finds a culprit. If the General Agreement has found itself, for all kinds of reasons, in the situation in which it is now, this does not mean that we are going to fight and take steps that will close the doors to further negotiations. I believe that a meeting at the highest level serves as a platform where disagreements can be explained and compromise solutions sought.

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[Cernicka] The social partners consider your proposals concerning unemployment and wage growth, proposals that you want to have embedded in the General Agreement, controversial.

[Lacko] If we have had five years of social peace, if there are no strikes here, it is due to the trade unions. We have had patience and understanding for the transformation process. The fact that the trade unions understood the need for modesty is something that is not being acknowledged today, and our members are reproaching us for it. Today our member base rejects the transfer of burdens to employees' shoulders. The limits of patience and understanding have been exhausted, in our opinion. The time has come to make the transition to the development of the employees' standard of living. This is, in fact, the entire problem existing today between the social partners. In the summer, we were referred to the wage issue [sentence as published]. But when the state budget was being drafted, we were told that unemployment would rise because of our wage demands. When we want to have a 12-percent rate of unemployment embedded in the General Agreement, it is because we consider it attainable. After all, this demand cannot lead to higher unemployment.

When we speak about growth of real wages, the degree of this growth remains open to discussion. When one speaks about projected GDP growth of 6 percent, it is logical for real wages to grow, too. Even if GDP grows, real wages need not rise in case of an unfavorable development in the price sphere affecting employees and threatening the growth of real wages. This is why we want to have this commitment embedded in the General Agreement. The percentage of this growth can be negotiated. Our idea is to have a specific commitment in the sphere of wages embedded in the General Agreement. The General Agreement will, in fact, become the foundation of the future organization of the tripartite: Basic agreements will be concluded at the highest level. These agreements will have the character of a contract, according to which one will proceed in the entire state. This proposal can also be understood as our idea of the tripartite's organization. The General Agreement will contain specific commitments, which will make its fulfillment verifiable. We are able to guarantee social peace under these conditions.

[Cernicka] The government takes pride in the fact that the General Agreement is being fulfilled 97 percent. What is the percentage of its fulfillment in your opinion?

[Lacko] Expressing fulfillment in percentage points is a matter of quantity. The quality of this fulfillment is another matter. Out of three decisive commitments [in the General Agreement for 1995], one has been fulfilled and two have not. The decisive commitment that has been fulfilled, from our point of view, was the amendment to the law on income tax. The government side fully met its commitment. However, it has not met its commitments regarding the amendment to the Labor Code and the amendment to the law on collective bargaining.

[Cernicka] When you look back at the General Agreements since 1990, which decisive commitments have not been met?

[Lacko] I will mention only the last two years. I already spoke about 1995. As for 1994, the pledge to amend the law on income tax remained unfulfilled. When the tax on employees' income develops in such a way that its proceeds double since the introduction of the tax, it is a signal that its structure has become antiquated. On the other hand, it has an impact on employees' real earnings. There exist various ways of raising real earnings, and amending tax brackets is one of them. Without any matter-of-fact discussions taking place, accusations are then leveled against us because we speak about matters about which we have certain knowledge and because we believe that our knowledge is sufficient to warrant the proposal of solutions that are in the interest of employees.

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Kovacs Assesses 1995 Foreign Policy Successes

AU0301135296 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 30 Dec 95 p 10

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Ferenc Garzo; place and date not given: "Desires and Possibilities in Hungarian Foreign Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is not disappointed. In fact, all in all, he looks back on this year's results with satisfaction. In an interview for NEPSZAVA, Kovacs said that Hungarian diplomacy had done all that it was possible to do within the limits set by the circumstances. He spoke with dismay about the opposition's accusations, and as to the presence of Americans in Hungary, he does not share the worries of many people; in his view, euro-atlantic membership means a historic chance for Hungary.

[Kovacs] I am not disappointed, in fact, all in all, I rather feel satisfaction. We did what we could. A foreign policy that is only based on desires and ignores the real international conditions is doomed to failure.

This year, Hungary has come much closer to the European Union and NATO. As for our neighbors, relations with Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, and Ukraine have developed unhindered, and we have expanded our relations in many areas with Romania and Slovakia. We made a basic treaty with Slovakia; this, in my view, is a good document from the Hungarian point of view, and it is also advantageous for the Hungarians in Slovakia because it ensures international legal guarantees for them. We did not manage to complete a similar treaty with Romania because, for the time being, Bucharest is not showing any willingness to include the international documents that most comprehensively summarize the national minority rights in the basic treaty as legally binding norms. At any rate, talks are continuing in connection with the three documents of the reconciliation processes proposed by President Iliescu, and in connection with the basic treaty. As for Yugoslavia, we could not endeavor more than to preserve political contacts and we succeeded in this. Hungarian-Yugoslav relations may be expanded with the implementation of the peace process.

The situation of the Hungarian minorities in Romania, Slovakia, and Serbia has undeniably deteriorated. The passing of the Slovak Language Law and the Romanian Education Law have limited the Hungarian minority's possibility to preserve its identity, and the large-scale settlement of Krajina Serbs has changed the ethnic proportions in Vojvodina. I would like to emphasize, however, that Hungarian foreign policy did all it could to slow down these unfavorable tendencies. International opinion, our most important partners, and the various international organizations know precisely why and how this situation has evolved. They do not blame Hungary. In fact, an emphatic recognition surrounds the Hungarian neighborhood policy and the attitude the Hungarian Government showed after the passing of the Slovak Language Law and the Romanian Education Law. If it had done what the opposition suggested, namely, reduced relations or organized actions that increase tension, then the West could now probably look on us the same way as on these neighbors.

[Garzo] As for the opposition, it has undoubtedly attacked Hungarian foreign policy vehemently this year. How do you handle the opposition's arguments: Do you find them all to be discarded or can you find some useful ones among them?

[Kovacs] If I feel any disappointment, then it is in connection with the opposition's attitude directed at discrediting the government's foreign policy. Some people call it hastiness if the Hungarian foreign political leadership reacts to something immediately and the same people call it delay if we react the following day. The way they criticized Gyula Horn's U.S. visit was typical. It was tragicomic the way certain opposition politicians tried to draw negative conclusions from formalities, from the number of salvos. It is a regular occurrence that they state untruths in parliamentary questions. For example, an opposition politician once claimed that the Encyclopedia Britannica published false data on the number of Hungarians in Romania and asked if the Foreign Ministry had called the editors' attention to this. I checked it out and found that the encyclopedia had the correct data. I informed the politician about this fact in a letter and attached a copy of the proof to it. However, this did not prevent him from later repeating the false claim. Or take the impossible suggestion that after the acceptance of the Slovak Language Law and the Romanian Education Law, the Hungarian National Assembly's 386 deputies should have travelled to Strasbourg to surround the building of the European Parliament with a human chain. I cannot do anything with such ideas, and if we do not have consensus because of this, then I say that we should not have it, either!

It is also true that certain opposition politicians also made some usable suggestions in certain cases, for example, in connection with the Hungarian response to the Romanian reconciliation documents.

[Garzo] At the same time, Hungarian foreign policy, especially the work in connection with being the chairman-in-office of the OSCE, tended to receive praise in the international arena. Nevertheless, many people

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cannot rid themselves of the impression that being a small country, in some areas, Hungary continues to follow forced courses, and its room for maneuver is limited. Who knows, for example, what slice of the profit to be made from the Bosnian reconstruction it will have?

[Kovacs] We have indeed received much praise. For example, in his letters to Arpad Goncz and Horn, Bill Clinton refers to the Hungarian OSCE chairmanship, and I have also received recognition from many Western foreign ministers. I am convinced that it was good for Hungary's international reputation that it could fill this position. As chairman-in-office of the OSCE, Hungary significantly contributed to the south Slav settlement and has a good chance also of participating in the south Slav reconstruction process, as a kind of compensation for the more than $2 billion loss caused by the embargo on Yugoslavia.

[Garzo] So it is hoped that the Hungarian contribution will be rewarded. Is it possible that the reward for our participation in the south Slav peacekeeping activity will be a quicker accession to NATO?

[Kovacs] Euro-atlantic membership depends on a number of factors, first of all, on the European Union's and NATO's willingness to expand, and on whether Hungary meets the specific admission requirements. This means that the economy has to be stabilized, and the undoubtedly painful Bokros program launched a positive process in this area. We have taken important steps in the area of legal harmonization. We have started the reform of the military forces. Hungary's general image and to what extent it is considered to be possible to fit it into the euro-atlantic community are of basic importance. The way democracy functions, the constitutional state, respect for human and minority rights, the level of political culture, and foreign policy are definitely part of this image.

The country's willingness and ability to cooperate is also well-regarded. Hungary has proved that it is ready to cooperate in more than just word, it was ready to ensure the IFOR [Implementation Force] passage through the country, the setting up of a logistics base, and it is even sending a limited technical unit. Participation in the IFOR maneuver gives Hungarian soldiers invaluable experience, and they will learn to work together with armies of NATO member states.

[Garzo] The Western press is also now reflecting the concern of part of the Hungarian public: The Americans are laying a claim for more military objects than contained in the Dayton agreement. People are drawing a parallel with the past situation.

[Kovacs] It is the Hungarian Government's responsibility not to do anything that is contrary to the country's interests. The National Assembly has given a clear mandate for the government and it will not overstep this. It is natural for worries to exist: For decades, Hungary was part of a military alliance that significantly limited the country's sovereignty. Those who oppose our NATO membership and initiated a referendum on this issue use precisely this fear as a basis.

However, the similarity with the previous period is only formal and there is a major difference in the content. Hungary has now been given a historic chance to belong at last to a group of countries having the most developed democracies. This is the most important international condition for our security, stability, and for our economic and social modernization.

Armed Escort for Technical Unit Going to Croatia

LD0301174396 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The soldiers of the Hungarian technical unit to be deployed in Croatia will take armored transport vehicles with them after all. The defense minister has announced that four rifle squads, that is 28 soldiers, and six armored military vehicles will join the peacekeepers to protect them. Gyorgy Keleti stressed, however, that there will be no machineguns on the vehicles, and it is still the British soldiers who, first and foremost, have to guarantee the safety of the Hungarian unit. Talks will held on this soon with the command of the peacekeeping force, the defense minister said.

Keleti on Safety Requirements

LD0401103696 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 4 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The safety of the Hungarian soldiers preparing to go to Bosnia is guaranteed, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti said on 3 January. In any case, infantry will join the contingent and the unit will have armored vehicles—even if they are not equipped with weapons. Levente Suekoesd had the following interview:

[Begin recording] [Suekoesd] How long might the discussions on guarantees last?

[Keleti] I believe that they will be completed within several days. We are in contact with the leaders of NATO and IFOR [Implementation Force]. If we do not have adequate guarantees providing maximum safety in the circumstances, the departure of the Hungarian contingent will be delayed.

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I imagine that no one expects each individual Hungarian technical soldier to be surrounded by five, six, or ten British armed soldiers. However, it is necessary for us to organize the provision of adequate [word indistinct] guarantees for the Hungarian soldiers on duty—professionally, from the viewpoint of the Hungarian soldiers.

Secondly, it is necessary to ensure satisfactory communications by the IFOR patrols who are on duty on the routes to be used by the Hungarian soldiers.

Our soldiers must naturally have personal means of protection, which previously were not used regularly in the Hungarian army—we will obtain these—for example, bulletproof vests.

They must also have satisfactory communications with their own people, and provisions must be made, by all means, so that central orders are issued to give them adequate assistance in the event of an unexpected attack. [end recording]

Commander Views Sappers' Preparations for Bosnia

AU0301145896 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 2 Jan 96 p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Attila Letai by "halasz"; place and date not given: "The Technical Unit Takes Top Technology to the Balkans—Pontoon Bridge in One and a Half Hours"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian technical battalion that has been preparing for weeks to meet international expectations when it goes abroad, will occupy its area around Novska Ckucani—between Bosnia and Croatia—between 16 and 22 January. Following the Dayton agreement, NATO asked the Hungarian Government to help promote peace in the Balkans with a technical unit. Lieutenant Colonel Attila Letai, commander of the battalion, makes no secret that the coming task is one of the biggest challenges in his life.

[Letai] Preparations had already begun before the peace was signed in Paris. We recruited experts into the battalion who are the best at the science of military engineering, for example, one of the deputy commanders is a bridge construction instructor at Zrinyi Military Academy. We were given a free hand in the selection and I believe that the best team is going abroad.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What will be their most important task?

[Letai] The construction of special bridges and auxiliary [kisero] bridges. During our preparation in Hungary, we have already practiced how a bridge can be built quickly from wood because we are travelling to a region where large forests will be at our disposal.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What is your record for assembling a pontoon bridge?

[Letai] We are able to assemble a 40-meter long and 3.5-meter wide pontoon to carry a load of 60 tonnes in one or one and a half hours. In addition to making pontoons, our task will probably be to replace the so-called mechanical [gepi] [pontoon] bridges with wooden ones. So my other deputy is an excellent mechanical engineer.

[Letai] The press tends to write about the Hungarian army's outdated technical equipment. How can an army in such a disadvantageous situation meet international expectations?

[Letai] In such a way that we selected from the best p... available for the technical troops, we are taking four fast-moving bulldozers with us which, for example, are of top technical level. These BAT-2 type fast-moving caterpillar tracked bulldozers will advance toward Banja Luka and will help with road building. When leaders of the British Army visited Szeged a few months ago and looked at the Russian-made power machines, one of the commanders symbolically took some pounds out of his wallet and said that he would immediately buy the BAT-2's for the British Army. As a matter of fact, our military equipment is compatible with NATO's military arsenal.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] How did you train to build the bridge over the fast-running Sava river?

[Letai] We know that the Sava flows faster than the Tisza or the Danube. Therefore, we kept practicing the construction of 80-tonne ferries because, in addition to the pontoons, ferries will also be needed on the Sava. According to our hopes, we will be able to operate two to three ferry crossing points at the same time.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What exercises will you perform in the remaining days?

[Letai] General military and special training will also start in January. We have to achieve readiness for deployment by the 16th. The fact that half of our staff are regular officers is a guarantee for this.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] How dangerous do you believe your stay in the Balkans will be?

[Letai] In my view, the risk is minimal, there is peace, and all opposing sides have to hand in their weapons by 31 January. Regardless of this, we will work as if the ceasefire did not exist and we will make sure that

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no surprise attacks can affect us. We will take quick-fire rifles and pistols, but our security will ultimately be guaranteed by NATO's total services. I find it much more important to protect the health of our soldiers during their work. For this reason, members of the battalion will be given splinterproof vests and special kevlar [fiberglass material] helmets. In my view, our Balkan activities, for which the commission lasts until 31 December 1996, will, at the same time, be the Hungarian army's entrance exam to NATO.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Stories can already be heard that the soldiers will become rich from this enterprise.

[Letai] This is out of the question, but it is true that their pay will exceed domestic pay. The regulars will earn between $950 and 1,300 a month, and they will also receive their pay and supplement at home.

Goncz Speaks to Heads of Diplomatic Missions

LD0301143696 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungary has taken important steps toward joining the European Union, and, after a successful period in office, has handed the position of acting chairman of the OSCE over to Switzerland, Arpad Goncz said.

The president of the Republic was speaking at a New Year's reception held in the parliament building for the heads of the diplomatic missions accredited in Budapest.

The president gave special greetings to the representatives of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnia—who, as he put it, were able, after years of war, to take the path of peace.

No Oil Via Friendship Pipeline Since 1 Jan

LD0301215896 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Since 1 January, no oil has arrived on the Friendship oil pipeline. Moscow explained the halt in delivery by saying they could not reach agreement with Ukraine on the transit fees. In Budapest, however, an official of Mol Rt. [Hungarian Gas and Oil Industry Joint Stock Company], said that the company asked that the oil supply be suspended because its containers were full.

Economic Researchers Give Forecast for 1996

AU0301194196 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Dec 95 pp 1, 5

[Report by "H.Sz.": "What Do Economic Researchers Predict?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the basis of numeric prognoses made by economic researchers, no radical change but some improvement can be expected in the Hungarian economy next year. Inflation will increase much slower, unemployment will remain at the same level, and the balance of the budget and the current account will improve.

Naturally, it is difficult to make forecasts in crisis situations, and they carry the danger of being wrong. This is shown by the fact that last year's prognoses for this year were much more positive on certain points and much more pessimistic in other areas than reality turned out to be. The economic research institutes and even the Finance Ministry calculated, with at least 550,000 unemployed by the end of the year, a good 50,000 more than what was shown by November statistics. The country's financial balance was also much better than expected, the budget deficit will be 100 to 150 billion forints Lower than forecast—even without the privatization incomes. Although the current account deficit is higher than forecast by the Finance Ministry, it is $100 to 200 million lower than was indicated by economic researchers.

Contrary to all other assumptions, the GDP will also be 1 or 2 percent more than a year ago. However, all this has a price: Inflation will be a good 10 percent higher than planned and will exceed the level indicated by the researchers by 5-8 percent. And no one had expected the real wages to be reduced by more than 10 percent this year.

The latter is enough for people not to have much nostalgia for 1995. The government also managed to bring some other measures to worsen the general mood. The series of these began with the shock therapy in March. It is true that, until then, it was distressing that nothing had happened while the bells had already been tolling. However, the accepted laws which were then torpedoed or amended by the Constitutional Court or even government party deputies, the contradictory statements of ministers, and the coalition wrangling, which often gave the impression that they were over positions rather than the economy, created at least as much uncertainty. It is some encouragement for the coming year that the economy seems to be becoming a self-propelling one. The GDP grew in spite of all prior predictions, and productivity increased by a fair

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degree. This is an essential condition for improving the Hungarian economy's competitiveness.

At the same time, the reform of state administration casts ominous shadows on the coming year. In theory, this means that public administration and the welfare supply systems will be streamlined, made more efficient, and cheaper. However, this can be a double-edged sword in reality. Measures taken, possibly hastily and without expertise, can further deepen the gap between the various social strata, placing further hundreds of thousands of people into a hopeless or extremely desperate situation. This will be the major challenge of the coming year.

[Box, p 5]

	Economic Research Inc.	Kopint Datorg	Budapest Bank	Finance Ministry
Population's gross nominal earnings, percent*	20-21	19-20	18-20	19-20
Registered unemployed at end of year, thousand people	510	500	460-480	510
Inflation, percent*	20-23	23-50	22-25	19-20
GDP, percent*	0-1	1	1-2	Approx. 2
Budget deficit, billion forints	200	170**	280-320**	232.6**
Deficit of current account, billion U.S. dollars	2.2	2-2.5	2.6-3.1	Approx. 2
Change in economy's general situation	Slow improvement	Only slow growth, with increased differentiation in sectors	Stagnates	Slight growth continues along improving foreign and domestic balance
Change in situation of economic units	Will be differentiated	Continuing strong differentiation	Further differentiation	No data
Progress in privatization	Good at last	Will be calmer after the end of 1995 hype	Continues	Continues
Differentiation of population	Continues to be strong	Continues	Continues	Decreases as a result of the state's influence
Closeness to Europe	Wobbly	No essential change	Distance will remain	Process accelerates

FOOTNOTE: * 1995 = 100 percent, ** without privatization income

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Croatia's Tudjman Arrives for Cooperation Council

LD0401114396 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent Andjelko Perincic] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, arrived in Sarajevo, capital of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at about 1100 [1000 GMT] this morning. At Sarajevo airport he was welcomed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Together they set off for Konak, the official residency of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, where the session of the Council for Cooperation, the highest body for coordination between the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia, is now in progress. Under the recently signed Dayton agreement, President Tudjman is the president of the council and Alija Izetbegovic is its vice president.

The official welcoming ceremony was held in Konak. After the inspection of the honor guard, the two presidents and their aides opened the session. The Croatian delegation includes Prime Minister Zlatko Matesa; Deputy Prime Ministers Bozidar Skegro and Mate Granic — the latter is also the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia; Minister of Defense Gojko Susak; and other officials.

On the Bosnia-Herzegovina side the meeting is being attended by Kresimir Zubak and Ejub Ganic, the president and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina respectively; Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic; Stjepan Kljuic, member of the presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Minister of Defense Jadranko Prljic; Minister of Foreign Affairs Muhamed Sacirbegovic; and others.

OSCE Talks on Disarming Bosnia Open in Vienna

AU0401103596 Paris AFP in English 1013 GMT 4 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, Jan 4 (AFP) — Crucial negotiations on disarming the former belligerents in the Balkan conflict opened here Thursday morning, under the auspices of the Organisation for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE).

Under the Dayton peace accord, the OSCE must secure agreement from the various sides on confidence-building measures by January 26, and on an international arms reduction treaty between Bosnia and its neighbours Croatia and the rump Yugoslavia by June 6.

The closed-door talks opened under a cloud of suspicion due to the Bosnian Serbs' detention of 16 Bosnians in a suburb of Sarajevo despite the right to freedom of movement stipulated in the peace accord, signed in Paris last month.

No information was available on the level of officials involved in the negotiations, which were officially launched on December 18 in Bonn by 16 foreign ministers from the warring sides and the international community.

Negotiations on confidence-building, including the exchanges of liaison offices and of information on military strength, and on disarmament were being held separately.

Serbs Release Three; Retain 16 'Prisoners of War'

AU0301161596 Paris AFP in English 1527 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 3 (AFP) — Bosnian Serbs on Wednesday freed three Moslem civilians abducted in a Serb-controlled Sarajevo suburb, but said others would be put on trial, sparking renewed concern for the fragile Bosnia peace process.

Angry Bosnian government officials accused the Serbs of detaining 16 civilians and demanded the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia secure their unconditional release.

But Ilidza's Serb mayor, Nedjelko Prstojevic, said "three people are under investigation by the judicial authorities in Kula," adding "the court must do its work."

Speaking after a meeting with General Sir Michael Walker, IFOR ground commander in Bosnia, he said: "The people held strayed up to five kilometres (three miles) from the agreed route for transiting Ilidza."

"Some of them were involved in blackmarket petrol dealing, stealing cars and roughing up Serbs," he said.

Five others had been freed on Sunday after questioning, said Prstojevic, who refused to say how many Bosnians the Serbs were still detaining.

French officials in Paris had earlier Wednesday confirmed three Moslems had been set free by the Serbs, but Amir Hadziomeragic, deputy government minister told AFP: "This is not true, it is incorrect information."

"Not a single one of them belongs to the group of 16 kidnapped as of December 22," he said.

Hadziomeragic said the trio released, two elderly men and a woman, had got lost in Hrasnica, an area to the south of the city. "They were shortly detained last night but released this morning (Wednesday)," he said.

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Those apparently abducted by the Bosnian Serbs were taken while travelling along a main road out of the city to the western suburb of Ilidza.

The incidents pose the first serious threat to the Dayton peace accord, which aims to resolve the three and a half year conflict in the Balkans.

Hadziomeragic said that during a meeting lasting 15 minutes between the Serbs and Bosnian government officials at the city's airport on the issue, the Serbs "explicitly stated they will not release them (the 16) because they consider them to be prisoners of war."

Rummelhardt condemned the detentions, saying the issue "is currently the most serious violation of the peace accords."

"Events of this kind are to be condemned and we are taking steps to find a solution," he said. "The freeing this morning of three persons held is a positive element."

"We call on the sides to resolve these difficulties as quickly as possible. These elements must not threaten the restoration of confidence and the implementation of the peace accords," he added.

Under the Dayton peace agreement, which a NATO-led force is responsible for implementing, Serb-held suburbs of Sarajevo are to revert to Bosnian government control in early March.

Bildt 'Very Concerned' Over Civilians

AU0301183696 Paris AFP in English 1751 GMT 3 Jan 96

[By Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Jan 3 (AFP) — Top Bosnian peace official Carl Bildt arrived in Sarajevo on Wednesday to growing controversy over the fate of 16 Bosnian civilians believed abducted by Bosnian Serbs in the first serious violation of the Dayton peace accord.

Bildt, who has responsibility for overseeing the implementation of civilian aspects of Bosnia's peace accord, said he was "very concerned" over reports that some 16 Bosnian civilians had been kidnapped by Bosnian Serbs.

He said he would take up the issue with the commander of the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia, Admiral Leighton Smith, whom Bildt was due to meet Wednesday evening. [passage omitted]

U.S. Defence Secretary William Perry, on a flying visit to Bosnia on Wednesday, echoed these sentiments. "The task of NATO and IFOR is to ensure the freedom of movement and to carry out the terms of the Dayton (peace) agreement," he said.

"We are not set up as a police force to conduct all the police functions in this city. It is very important that the international police task force (IPTF) get in and establish the function as soon as possible," he said.

The IPTF comes under Bildt's jurisdiction but the former Swedish prime minister said despite a UN Security Council decision to establish the force 10 days ago, "it will take time to build up to strength."

"I don't even have a car of my own. I have no assets to patrol roads. In the meantime it is important that all of the available resources are used to secure freedom of movement," Bildt told reporters shortly after arriving at Sarajevo airport.

French IFOR troops are deployed in the Sarajevo area and patrol the roads through Serb-held districts that ring the city and were used to choke the capital during 44 months of siege.

Lieutenant Colonel Yves Bourboulon said patrols had been beefed up in "the last three days" since the disappearances came to light. At the last government-held spot before entering the Serb zones, Bourboulon said, "we are instructing civilians to wait and travel with another car to make a convoy." [passage omitted]

'Unconditional Release' Demanded

AU0301190696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The representatives of the legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities, with the mediation of the Implementation Force [IFOR], met with the representatives of Karadzic's Serbs at Sarajevo airport today and discussed the fate of our citizens whom the Serbian terrorists kidnapped on the road through Ilidza.

Our representative at the meeting demanded the unconditional release of all kidnapped persons who were stopped and detained in a manner only employed by the most hardened of terrorists.

In the course of the talks, the representatives of the Serb side admitted that they held some of our people, whom they considered to be prisoners of war. This best testifies to the fact that this is an organized action whose goal is to obstruct the implementation of the peace agreement and create tensions in the Sarajevo area, B-H PRESS agency has learned in the cabinet of Hasan Muratovic, president of the state committee for liaison with IFOR.

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Ilidza Serb Leader on Charges

LD0301200696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 3 Jan (SRNA) — Nedjeljko Prstojevic, president of the Ilidza municipality wartime presidency, said today that "criminal charges will be brought against a number of people from the Muslim part of Sarajevo who have been detained in Ilidza."

"A number of people were released after questioning but others will be taken to court on charges of smuggling fuel, car theft, maltreating the local population, and similar offenses," Prstojevic said at a news conference in Ilidza following his talks with General Michael Walker, commander of the IFOR [Implementation Force] land forces.

According to him, the group includes people of Serb, Croat, and Muslim nationality who, while traveling along the Kiseljak-Hadzici-Muslim Sarajevo road, strayed from the designated route and headed toward the village of Vlakovo, 5 km outside the route.

"They also included two uniformed members of the so-called army of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Prstojevic said, and went on to warn the citizens in the Muslim part of Sarajevo not to deviate from the designated route when passing through the Serb part of the town.

General Mike Walker, commander of the IFOR land forces, said in Ilidza today that the question of the release of the detained people from the Muslim part of Sarajevo will be resolved in agreement with representatives of the Serb Republic authorities in the municipality of Ilidza and IFOR.

At a news conference in Ilidza after the talks with Nedeljko Prstojevic, Gen. Walker said that the resolution of this problem, "because of its complexity, must be approached with extreme caution."

Apart from this issue, the Prstojevic-Walker talks were devoted to the details of the move of the IFOR land forces headquarters to hotels in Ilidza.

At the news conference, which was attended by a large number of local and foreign journalists, Gen. Walker expressed satisfaction with today's cooperation with representatives of the authorities of the Serb municipality of Ilidza.

Serbs Hint at More Releases

AU0401111696 Paris AFP in English 1039 GMT 4 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 4 (AFP) — Three Bosnian Moslems held by Bosnian Serbs were released Thursday morning, a spokesman for the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) told AFP.

The three, part of a group of 16 Bosnians reported to be held by the Serbs, were released at 10:00 a.m. (0900 GMT) to the Sarajevo-based French brigade of IFOR, said Captain Frederic Solano, a spokesman for IFOR in the Bosnian capital.

The three were arrested on December 25 while travelling through the western Serb-held Sarajevo suburb of Ilidza. Their abduction was seen as the first significant challenge to the Dayton peace accords for Bosnia.

The chief-of-staff of the French brigade, Colonel Thierry Canbournac, met Thursday morning with the Bosnian Serb military authorities and "demanded the liberation of all the people who had been arrested in the last days in Serb areas", Solano said.

The Serbs said they had detained another nine people, including two Serbs.

The Serbs hinted that further liberations were forthcoming, Solano added.

Serbs Term Abductions 'Reprisal'

AU0401111796 Paris AFP in English 1007 GMT 4 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Jan 4 (AFP) — Senior NATO commanders were due to meet Bosnian Serb and government military leaders Thursday in an effort to secure the release of 16 Bosnian civilians detained by the Serbs. [passage omitted]

Commander of NATO ground forces in Bosnia, General Sir Michael Walker, met with the Serb mayor in Ilidza on Wednesday to discuss the disappearances during which he admitted that the Serbs held 16 people, IFOR spokesman Major Peter Bullock said.

"The mayor accepted the fact that 16 people were being detained and promised to investigate," Bullock said. [passage omitted]

In Madrid, NATO's Secretary-General Javier Solana, described the detention of the 16 Bosnian civilians as "a harsh blow", but stressed that it did not threaten NATO's mission in Bosnia.

"It's a harsh blow, but it will not be the only incident," Solana told state radio, adding that he hoped for a resolution in the coming days.

"We are prepared to tackle highs and lows" during this mission, which he predicted "will be a success".

UN civilian police were due to meet Serb leaders Thursday morning near Sarajevo to discuss the problem

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of the Bosnian detainees, a UN official in Zagreb said. The meeting will take place at Ilidza, a Serb-controlled suburb of Sarajevo, where the Bosnians went missing.

"The Serbs confirmed that they were holding 12 people, of whom three were in uniform," said the official, who declined to be identified.

"They explained that the incident was in reprisal for the arrest in April of three Serbs who had worked for the United Nations, and two others on October 27."

IFOR Official on Abducted, Security

AU0401102196 Munich ARD Television Network in German 2135 GMT 3 Jan 96

[Telephone interview with IFOR spokesman Bundeswehr Captain Jost Fohmann in Sarajevo by Ulrich Wickert in the Hamburg studio; from the "Tagesthemen" program — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Wickert] The timing of the kidnapping of the Muslims was well chosen by the Serbs, because no one is feeling really responsible for internal security. The U.S. secretary of defense who was visiting his troops in Bosnia today said the IFOR [Implementation Force] peace implementation force was not responsible for the case of those kidnapped. Why not? We are now connected with IFOR spokesman Bundeswehr Captain Jost Fohmann in Sarajevo. Good evening, Mr. Fohmann.

[Fohmann] Good evening, Mr. Wickert.

[Wickert] Mr. Fohmann, why does IFOR not intervene here?

[Fohmann] We should make clear what responsibilities IFOR has. As the commander of [word indistinct] said at the news conference with the mayor of Ilidza today, IFOR's tasks primarily are to establish a security architecture allowing all parties involved to move freely. This does not mean that we will assume police responsibilities at a low level. The signatory parties are preparing a security architecture here, and are responsible themselves for its being respected. I reiterate, it is not IFOR's business to give individual parties security guarantees.

[Wickert] But the mayor said that those who were detained or taken prisoner deviated from the safe roads. Can it be that some roads are safe, and on others which are not people are taken prisoner?

[Fohmann] Certainly not. This freedom of movement is not locally limited. It must be made clear that freedom of movement must apply to everyone. I do not fully share this argument.

[Wickert] What should be done to guarantee internal securit[illegible]

[Fohmann] Mr. Wickert, if we compare the situation several weeks ago with the current situation, we see that a huge success has been achieved. Since IFOR has been deployed here, we have seen that certain things are possible, that certain civilian traffic routes can be used that we could not even have mentioned several months ago. Seen this way, I must stress that our activities have been successful, and NATO, through IFOR, has made a clear step forward back to the normalcy of this state.

[Wickert] But what are the problems?

[Fohmann] Problems will have to be expected once the so-called transfer of authority will be carried out, meaning when the Serb districts of Sarajevo will be taken over by the Bosnian-Croat Federation. We are doing everything in our power to make sure that the Serb population takes note of confidence-building measures, so that we do not have to consider a mass exodus. We are trying to make clear to the Serbs that we treat all parties here absolutely unprejudiced and on the basis of absolute equality, and that we do not prefer any party but are trying to ensure freedom of movement in freedom for everyone.

[Wickert] Mr. Fohmann, do you have the impression that the people are developing confidence?

[Fohmann] Well, I think this, too, is a task that primarily concerns us. We must see to it that IFOR troops be considered as an instrument by which the international community shows that this country finally has the right to live in peace. We are doing everything in our power to achieve this. We protect the roads, we ensure confidence-building measures, we invite Serbs to come to us, we make sure that Bosnian journalists are admitted at news conferences on Serb soil. I think this is an initial step, and I do not think more can be expected after the first two weeks.

[Wickert] Thank you very much, Mr. Fohmann.

Bildt Discusses Role of Police in Serb Sarajevo

LD0301211996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2042 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 3 Jan (SRNA) — Carl Bildt, the high representative of the international community for the implementation of civilian aspects of the peace treaty, had a meeting in Ilidza [Serb-held western Sarajevo] this evening with representatives of the city authorities of Serb Sarajevo.

The talks were devoted to the question of the possible extension of the deadline for the implementation of the

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Dayton Agreement in the Sarajevo area, the specification of deadlines for the hand-over of power, and the status and role of the Serb police after the transfer of power in the Serb Sarajevo area.

Bildt said that special attention must be devoted to these issues, and he expressed understanding for the concerns of the Serbs in Serb Sarajevo because of the fact that this area, according to the Dayton-Paris agreement, is to become part of the Croat-Muslim Federation.

HDZ Wants 'Equal Position' Within Sarajevo

AU0301192796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The town committee of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] Sarajevo issued a statement in which it points out, among other things, that the political status of the town of Sarajevo is not resolved by the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

This issue can only be resolved at the constituent assembly with prior agreement from the two parties — the HDZ and the Party of Democratic Action — at the highest political level.

We actually want an equal position within the political authorities at the town level, as well as a full local self-rule in at least one municipality, the statement says, among other things.

Sarajevo HDZ Protests 'Unilateral Propaganda'

LD0301183696 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the implementation and application of the constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Dayton agreement, the city committee of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] of Sarajevo, as the legal and legitimate political representative of the Croat people in Sarajevo, is forced to issue a public protest because of the orchestrated and unilateral propaganda of the Party of Democratic Action concerning the political status of the city of Sarajevo and the status of Croats there.

In connection with this, we wish to stress that Sarajevo is the capital of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation in which two constituent peoples live, Croats and Bosniak Muslims. This political status of the city of Sarajevo has not been solved in the constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. This question can only be solved at the constituent assembly and only with prior agreement of the two parties, the HDZ and the Party of Democratic Action, at the highest political level.

The HDZ will not accept a solution to the political status of Sarajevo, which some want to impose on the Croats without their consent and their equal participation in decisionmaking on issues that are of vital interest to them.

Sarajevo is a Croat city just as much as it is a Bosniak city, the statement of the city council of the HDZ Union said.

Kasagic Outlines Priority Tasks of State

AU0301141596 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 2 Jan 96

[Interview with Serb Republic Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic by Marinko Ucur on the "Dnevnik" program on 2 January — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ucur] Our guest tonight is Serb Republic Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic. Good evening, Prime Minister, and welcome. Happy New Year!

[Kasagic] Good evening. Thank you.

[Ucur] You were recently appointed prime minister. We remember that the last year was very difficult for all of us in a way. We had war. We enter this new year hoping for a lasting peace in this region. What will this year bring in terms of activities of the Serb Republic Government? What will be its main guidelines?

[Kasagic] We now have to deal with the consequences of war: war damage, an economy with no modern technology, and welfare funds that must be boosted due to certain social problems that have piled up during the war. Those problems must be tackled at a priority precedence. In other words, we must find the way to compensate families of soldiers who died in the war, people who became disabled at work and in the war, and solve the problems of underprivileged persons like pensioners or other welfare persons. It is our duty to open our borders toward Europe, toward all entities on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. That will help revitalize our economy. Certain programs have already assessed the damage of the war. The damage amounts to about $15 billion. Furthermore, we have prepared programs for our participation in World Bank funds which are gathering money for rebuilding and development. Another very important task will be to introduce modern technology on the territory of the Serb Republic to solve the problems that have piled up during the war.

[Ucur] That sounds very nice, but how do you about realizing all that? Will there be enough resources, human and other potential, to realize those ambition plans?

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[Kasagic] We have natural resources. We have production facilities. But we also have a great number of refugees, displaced persons, and that, too, is our priority. We must solve that problem for the sake of the functioning of our institutions, the state, its bodies. I think that once we have solved all those problems, once we have put the state back on its feet, when it becomes a law-ordered country, when institutions start functioning, when we are united on all issues — we will easily solve all our problems.

[Ucur] In your first interview as prime minister-designate, given in Bjeljina, you told the journalists that the professionalization of the Army will be one of the priority tasks of the government. Is this not the right time for the final professionalization of the Serb Republic Army, i.e. for the creation of a modern, efficient Army that we will need from now on? Are we perhaps not also forced to do that by international factors that limit all warring parties and force them to cut down on their [word indistinct]?

[Kasagic] The world dictates the number of soldiers in the region. The world is in charge of demilitarization, i.e. of establishing a lasting peace in the region. We seem to be headed into a process of Scandinavization. That suits us fine. It seems to me that no nation in this region should feel shortchanged in territory. There is enough territory for everybody. If we have demilitarization, if we have scandinavization, then we will not attack each other and the number of soldiers that the world has imposed on us — somewhere between 12,000 and 15,000 — would be enough to control our borders. To be able to efficiently control our borders with that number of soldiers, we should have a highly professional Army and state-of-the-art technology for rapid reaction.

[Ucur] You said that there are about 540,000 refugees in the Serb Republic. Do we have space for all those refugees and for all people who want to come live in the Serb Republic?

[Kasagic] Our territory has 25,000 square kilometers and can feed 3 million people without importing food, i.e. with its own technology and its own cultivated land. We have about 1.3 million inhabitants, i.e. there is enough space. Right now we have about 64,000 more or less damaged houses, and this winter we must get the means to repair those houses so that we can accommodate those people. We expect a large number of refugees now living in Yugoslavia to come live in the Serb Republic, once they have a place to return to, of course, and that will be our priority.

[Ucur] Do you have any information about the details of the return of people exiled from Sipovo and Mrkonjic Grad? Are you perhaps in contact with some IFOR [Implementation Force] representatives or with anybody in our political leadership who has more information about that?

[Kasagic] Foreign journalists ask me whether our people want to return to Sipovo, Mrkonjic Grad. The yearning to return to one's home is stronger than any evil that happened there, and they want to go back. If they come back to destroyed homes, they will slowly rebuild them, rebuild them with the help of the state. I expect that once the economy is revitalized and restored to normal, the state will be able to help them, much more than in wartime. I believe that the forces will be deployed along demarcation lines in the course of January and that our citizens will be able to go back to Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo.

[Ucur] A couple of days ago, your statement that the blockade at the Drina River would soon be lifted inspired optimism with our people. Is that true, and do you have any specific information to share with us?

[Kasagic] The Drina River blockade is our primary interest, but Yugoslavia cannot lift the blockade until IFOR is deployed along our border and until the IFOR commander informs the UN secretary general that they completed the demarcation between entities, that IFOR has been deployed. The secretary general will inform the UN Security Council about that, and sanctions will automatically be lifted in January at the latest. All sanctions will be lifted then. To that end, we have already started cooperating with all entities, not only with Serbia, i.e. Yugoslavia.

[Ucur] We are also interested in another border between two former Yugoslav republics, i.e. between Croatia and the Serb Republic. Some of our sources have recently reported on your official contacts with the representatives of the highest Croatian authorities, i.e. with the representatives of Tudjman's cabinet. Will more of such contacts follow, and what is the goal of those contacts? Can we trust the Croats, who are still our enemy, considering the fact that the hatchet has still not been buried?

[Kasagic] We now have peace, and the world is determined to make it last. To keep peace, we must establish economic cooperation with all entities. Karl Bildt, the representative for the implementation of the agreement [as heard], met with our government. He will come to Banja Luka this January. He intends to establish relations between the presidents of the three governments on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He intends to establish economic cooperation between the Serb Republic and all other entities, and we accept that. To that end, we met with the representatives

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of Tudjman's cabinet in Srbac. We said we wanted to establish humanitarian cooperation and economic cooperation. I think that by 15 January at the latest we will meet again to discuss that.

[Ucur] I hope that this time the Serbs will not emerge from the talks as the defeated side in any way. Experience has taught us that the Latini [those who use the Latin alphabet] cannot be trusted.

[Kasagic] Businessmen want to make money, and such relations are the purest. They cannot be defeated. One side could seem shortchanged for a moment, but a very brief one. However, business will take care of that, and I have no reservations about our economic cooperation and believe in good relations among businessmen.

[Ucur] Prime Minister, unless you have something to add, let me thank you for being our guest here in the Serb Television "Dnevnik" on behalf of our television crew.

Kasagic, IFOR's Jackson Discuss Implementation

LD0301221296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2149 GMT 3 Jan 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Jan. 3 (TANJUG) — Bosnian Serb Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic complained on Wednesday to the IFOR [Implementation Force] command that it was consulting too frequently the local bodies of authority in the Serb entity rather than the Bosnian Serb government.

After talks with the commander of the west sector, British Gen. Michael Jackson, Kasagic told journalists he had complained about it before the New Year to the peace Implementation Force (IFOR) commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina Adm. Leighton Smith.

I insisted on this because the IFOR command accidentally or deliberately made contact with municipal presidents who have the authority only to offer utility services, said Kasagic.

He said he viewed this as an attempt to break up the unity of the Bosnian Serb state Republika Srpska and underscored that the Bosnian Serb government was determined to enforce the peace accord initialled in Dayton, Ohio.

Kasagic said he was satisfied with the deployment of IFOR around Banja Luka, where the present 150 British contingent would be enlarged by another 600 British troops by Jan. 15.

Kasagic said his first encounter with Jackson had been open and constructive.

He said they had set the locations for deploying part of the IFOR in Banja Luka and agreed that tanks and artillery should not move through the central parts of the city.

UN's Annan: Peace Will 'Take a Long Time'

AU2912130995 Paris AFP in English 1250 GMT 29 Dec 95

[Report by Jacques Charmelot]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 29 (AFP) — The chief of the UN mission to the former Yugoslavia, Kofi Annan, has cautioned that restoring peace to Bosnia is likely to take a long time, despite an encouraging start by the new NATO-led peacekeeping force.

In an interview with AFP, Annan said that it was too early to assess chances of success for the Implementation Force (IFOR) which took over from the United Nations contingent in Bosnia-Herzegovina eight days ago, ar that the international community must be prepared for a long-term commitment.

The two key points which had yet to be resolved were the return of refugees and financial aid to rebuild the war-shattered Balkan state, he said.

IFOR has begun deploying some of the 60,000 troops which have one year to enforce a US-brokered peace agreement signed December 14 in Paris.

"Putting the troops down on the ground is one thing but alongside the troops you have all the civilian activities, and at the end of the day success will be determined by how we handle the peoples' problems," Annan said.

"I think we have to be prepared for a long-term commitment and sustained effort," he added.

Under the peace agreement, more than two million refugees are to return to their homes, seen as the key to stability in the region.

Annan, who is the special representative of UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, says the international community's commitment should be relative to its successes rather than a rigid timetable.

"I would prefer to see the international community decide when to leave or to stay but that judgement should be based on objective criteria of success, effective implementation of what we are here to do and progress on the ground rather than a rigid timetable," he said, in a clear reference to US electoral considerations which lie behind the one-year deadline.

He also warned that after three and a half years of war former enemies could not be expected to keep the peace

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themselves, and that it was crucial to make good on promises of aid and normalisation.

"A viable peace can only come from the work of the leaders and the people but the international community and the troops who are there also have a task to do," he said, adding: "If one believes that they would do everything they signed you don't need to come in."

He said it remained to be seen whether pledges of financial aid made the day after the Paris conference would be kept.

The cost of reconstructing Bosnia is expected to be around 4.9 billion dollars over three years.

Europe and the United States have agreed to provide a third each, while the rest is expected to come from countries like Japan and the Gulf oil monarchies.

Annan also said it was "not realistic" to expect all refugees to return within the year corresponding to NATO's mandate.

He said it would take at least two years, and that the return would be accompanied by problems such as where to lodge those who were displaced by the returning refugees.

"For people to feel confident to come back they have to have a sense of security and the assurance that their environment is secure...but it is too soon to say," he said.

He said that many countries had expressed interest in setting up a 1,700-strong civilian police force to extend IFOR's mission.

But recruitment has proved difficult, forcing the UN to widen its criteria to retired policemen of up to 60 years.

"It is extremely difficult to get the police," he said, but added that within the coming days about 88 policemen would depart for Bosnia.

Croat Official: Mostar Status Closer to Solution

AU0301203996 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jan 96 p 8

[Interview with Mijo Brajkovic, "mayor of west Mostar," by Veso Vegar; place and date not given: "District Borders Disputed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar — According to the Dayton agreement, Mostar is to be organized as a unified city with six districts. The deadline for the adoption of a transitional statute of the city passed on 31 December, but — following the session of the advisory council and the European administration in Mostar — it was clear that it would not be met. We asked Mijo Brajkovic, mayor of west Mostar, for a short interview.

[Brajkovic] I think that the agreement reached in Dayton on the organization of Mostar into six districts is suitable. We have started working on the statute, and I can say that we have reached an agreement on the basic principles. However, we could not agree on the district borders, three of which are to have a Croat and three a Bosniak majority.

[Vegar] What is the problem with the borders? The map has to be a component part of the transitional statute of the city.

[Brajkovic] Mostar's ethnic structure is such that it would be impossible to make three districts, each with an absolute majority of one nation, on the grounds of the 1991 census, but it would be possible to do so with a relative majority. In the talks, we endorsed the same principles that are valid for the federation, that is, that the demarcation line should be the starting point for the borders. Of course, it would be possible to carry out a few corrections so that an area with the majority Croat or Bosniak people would be included, with adequate exchanges. However, this was not met with understanding by the Bosniak side for reasons that I do not want to go into now. Perhaps the Bosniak negotiators expected that new borders would be drawn between the districts by some decree.

[Vegar] Does that mean that they were hoping that the decree would be to their advantage?

[Brajkovic] I do not see why the decree would be to their advantage. I do not think that administrator Hans Koschnick is a biased man. On the contrary, I think that Koschnick is a very realistic politician, and that he very wisely avoided the trap of trying to resolve the situation by decree, as that would not have been a solution and would not have been accepted.

[Vegar] Have great differences remained in the draft proposals for the demarcation of the districts?

[Brajkovic] To start with, the differences were considerable, but they have been reduced.

[Vegar] And now what?

[Brajkovic] The solution lies in the continuation of the talks. I am sure that other factors will have to join the talks, but I think that we have nevertheless come closer to a solution.

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Serb Official on Demarcation Lines in Posavina

AU0301141496 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 1 Jan 96

[Report by Vaso Antic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Peace and demarcation are widely discussed these days by mixed military commissions in Posavina. The demarcation lines of the northern border of the Serb Republic on the Orasje part of the now former battlefield have not fully been mapped out yet. The Serb side lodged a protest and demanded a correction of the demarcation lines in the area of Tursinovac and Ledenice. It offered to exchange the territory of Ostra Luka, which was given to the Serbs at the Paris conference, for the wider area of the Sava bridge in Samac. Cvjetko Savic is president of the Serb commission for the exchange of territory. We asked him about what has been aranged so far.

[Begin Savic recording] With regard to the northern border, the one in front of us, on the northern part of the Posavina front, the border suits us very much in certain areas. First of all, we get Ostra Luka here, and we are very much interested in that area. You know that we have many refugees there, quite a few displaced persons, families that have not yet been taken care of, who need a roof over their heads. We hope that once the border is established, we will be able to use the area and populate it with the people who do not have a roof over their heads. [end recording]

International military forces, IFOR [Implementation Force], have already reached the northernmost point of the northern border, i.e. the Sava bridge area. Those are Dutch and Swedish armored units which came here as advance troops a couple of days ago. Two U.S. battalions will arrive here sometime in January. Posavina managed to defend its ethnic territory by force of weapons, but in peacetime it will solve problems of territorial controversies through negotiations.

Mostar Muslims Assail Croat Killing of Youth

LD0201195696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 2 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A serious incident happened in Mostar on the New Year's eve. Eighteen year-old Alan Musovic was killed just because he tried to cross the previous line of separation between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croat Defense Council.

The heinous murder of 18 year-old Alan Musovic, who was killed by policemen of the so-called [Croat Republic of] Herzeg-Bosnia, has hit hard Mostar and its citizens, who have gathered in large numbers at the funeral of the slain youngster.

Alan Musovic was killed because he crossed the line of separation on new year's eve, just like scores of Croats do every day, without any reprecussions.

The language of force used by the Herzeg-Bosnia police is a threat to those people on both sides who are trying to do everything to unite Mostar and implement the Dayton agreement; it is their message that life together is impossible in Mostar.

At its session today the Mostar municipality presidency rejected a possibility that this was just an incident caused by extremists. This is an act by those who have been persistently trying to destroy the federation and all agreements between Bosniaks and Croats with the aim of preserving the quasi-state of Herzeg-Bosnia.

These policies stem from a part of the top level of the Croat Democratic Union. These are policies which from the very beginning have been hampering the implementation of the memorandum on understanding and all past agreements. It is obvious that the past agreements have not sufficiently changed Croat policies in Bosnia-Herzegovina so as to bring them in line with the signed agreements.

The citizens of Mostar and all Bosniaks of Herzegovina, who are still in Mostar, are asking themselves what else needs to be done to end their harassment.

The European Union [EU] administration of Mostar will be asked to throw light on this heinous crime and to bring the perpetrators to account.

The Koschnick administration is partly responsible for this incident because it is responsible for the formation of a Mostar joint police force, which would have certainly prevented such an incident if it had been set up. Instead, the core of the future joint police force of 180 European policemen are simply tourists in this city on the Neretva, and the EU administration in Mostar is still not administering the city but is a silent and impotent witness of terror and obstructive behavior by the rulers of the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia, who are thus openly ridiculing all agreements, the EU, and the international community, the Mostar assembly presidency says in a statement for the public.

Civil, Political Aspects of Peace Accord Lagging

LD0201173996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 2 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Jan. 2 (TANJUG) — The Sarajevo office of International High Representative for Bosnia Carl Bildt, who is responsible for the implementation of the civilian and political aspects of the Dayton agreement, has still not opened, which

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means that Bildt's team has still not started its extremely difficult and complex work.

This detail, which appears to be unimportant, has led to estimates that can be heard in Geneva that the realization of civilian, humanitarian and political issues of the Dayton Agreement are behind schedule and that just its military aspect is being implemented according to schedule.

Similar things are happening with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OECS) [as received], which is in charge of several very important tasks, from the organization of elections to the monitoring of human rights.

Diplomatic circles in Geneva say that 24 pages of the Dayton agreement belong to its military aspect, while 67 pages belong to civilian, humanitarian and political issues.

Sources in Geneva say that Bildt has planned to end his Christmas holidays on Jan. 8, when he is to leave for Sarajevo.

Western circles, primarily those from the United States, are said to be putting pressure on Bildt to shorten his holiday, because his work in Bosnia is behind schedule.

Western diplomats are afraid that the peace plan might collapse if its military aspect alone be realized.

A mixed commission, consisting of Bosnian Muslim, Croat and Serb representatives, should have started working on the restoration of postal, telephone and electric power networks, gas pipeline and other infrastructure.

Serb Deputy Health Minister on Demographic Policy

LD0301180096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 3 January (SRNA) — Gojko Klickovic, assistant minister of health, labor, and social welfare in the government of the Serb Republic, has said that one of the priority tasks in the development and survival of the Serb Republic is the defining of population and demographic policy.

According to him, despite the state's exhaustion in the wake of the four-year war, the republic's parliament is to pass a law on child welfare, which will use various measures to stimulate an increase in the birth rate in the Serb Republic, especially with regard to giving birth to a third child. The deputy minister of health, culture, and social policy said that some facts indicate that the birthrate in the Serb Republic is on a gradual upward trend. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1994, in nine hospitals in the western part of the Serb Republic where data was collected, 12,809 babies were born, which is 12 percent up on the same period in 1993.

"We plan that in the first phase of the implementation of our demographic and population policy — with the return of a number of refugees from Serbia, with existing refugees, and with the rise in the birth rate — our state will have a population of about 1.6 million," Klickovic said.

At today's news conference Klickovic said that the Serb Republic extends over 25,000 square kilometers, which is 49 percent of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the latest figures, 1,370,052 people live in this area.

According to figures he produced, of the total population in the Serb Republic, 454,994 are children, with 164,000 of them less than one year old and 210,000 in the 7-14 age group. There are 82,000 secondary school pupils and 21,000 students.

Klickovic said that the Serb Republic has 130,000 people employed: 90,000 in industry and 40,000 in non-productive jobs. There are 178,000 pensioners, and about 1,061,000 people are receiving humanitarian aid and welfare handouts because of their difficult social situation.

"Between 1 May and 18 December 1994, 705,000 refugees and displaced persons came to the Serb Republic. Their permanent accommodation and the accommodation of other refugees is the responsibility of the newly-formed Ministry for Displaced Persons and Refugees," Klickovic said.

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Tudjman Departs for Sarajevo, Urges Unity

LD0401105596 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 4 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has left for Sarajevo to attend the first session of the council for cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition to President Tudjman, the Croatian delegation also includes Prime Minister Zlatko Matesa; Dr Ivo Sanader, head of the president's office; Dr Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs; Deputy Prime Minister Borisav Skegro; Defense Minister Gojko Susak; and Hido Biscevic, assistant minister of foreign affairs. Tihomir Vinkovic reports:

[Vinkovic] Before his departure, President Tudjman made the following statement:

[Begin Tudjman recording] Well, this is the first meeting of the council for cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation, in other words, the beginning of a new era in relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Today we will be expected to reiterate and, in principle, put into concrete terms all that has so far been agreed upon in Washington and Dayton and to create foundations for the long-lasting cooperation and links between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina or rather the Federation in all spheres: economic, customs, cultural—you have all probably had read the agreements—including coordination in the foreign policy and defense spheres. As you can see, this will genuinely mark the opening of a process of cooperation which must secure increasingly stronger unity in economic and other spheres between Bosnia and Croatia. [end recording]

At Zagreb airport President Tudjman was seen off by Vlatko Pavletic, assembly president and academician; Dr Ivica Kostovic, deputy prime minister; Ivan Jarnjak, minister of internal affairs; and Corps General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of general staff of the Croatian Army.

Granic on Visit To Sarajevo

LD0301223396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] [Words indistinct] cooperation between the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia—[Croatian] Foreign Minister Mate Granic has said for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and TV. Our correspondent Nada al-Isa has interviewed Granic:

[Begin recording] [al-Isa] Minister Granic, you and President Franjo Tudjman are planning to visit Sarajevo tomorrow. Why is the visit taking place at this particular moment, and can you assess the relations between the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia on the eve of the visit, given a number of excesses in recent days?

[Granic] The visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina of a high-ranking Croatian delegation—led by President Tudjman—will take place tomorrow, weather conditions permitting. [Words indistinct] we will discuss numerous issues, from the implementation of the Washington and Dayton Agreements to some concrete issues, such as cantonal organization, the port of Ploce, the free zone, the abolition of visas, etc.

The Dayton Agreement is a big step forward, a step forward toward the implementation of the Washington Agreement, i.e. the implementation of the federation and the agreement on Mostar, as well as the final organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the marking of the borders.

The meeting comes at the right time, because decisive steps now have to be made toward the implementation of the agreement. For this reason, I think that such a meeting of all main officials in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and the Federation comes at the right time. There are no longer any excuses for [words indistinct]. It is in our mutual interest, and of course there are problems. But we will be discussing things in order to resolve the problems that [words indistinct]. [passage indistinct]

[Granic] [Words indistinct] from military and strategic to political and all other relations, joint interests regarding European integration, efforts to achieve peace and stability in the region. For instance, representatives of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were [in Zagreb] today. We discussed joint [words indistinct]. The platform has been coordinated. It is clear that certain elements on the ground are slowing down the implementation of the agreement, but we must now demonstrate resolve in all spheres, and the Croatian delegation will go to Sarajevo firmly convinced that [words indistinct]. [end recording]

TV Commentary Assesses Bosnia-Herzegovina's Future

LD0301232596 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The council for cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, envisaged in the Dayton Agreement, will start operating soon. Let us hear what our colleague Nenad Ivankovic has to say about the role and importance of this joint council.

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[Ivankovic] Although the joint council is an important part of the overall Dayton package, owing to spectacular problems, it has been relegated to a source of secondary media interest. However, it should not be so relegated. Imagine what might happen if the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation were not to succeed. The entire Dayton peace scheme would fall like a tower of cards and, I fear, it would go down with a terrible bang.

It is for this reason that steps were taken in Dayton towards fully setting up the federation and it is for this reason that the joint council was called into being. Frankly, this means that the federation is not possible as a live and healthy organism unless it is closely linked to Croatia—equally for political, economic, geopolitical, and strategic reasons.

In other words, what cooperation will be like between Sarajevo, Mostar, and Zagreb will depend on whether this complex, contradictory, foggy, geopolitical, and constitutional Bosnian construction, will in time lead to a stable and lasting peace in this area.

Is this how the Bosniak Muslims and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats see it? Kresimir Zubak on one occasion said sincerely and openly that we Croats have been through painstaking discussions on this and most of us are for a federation which will guarantee that we are a constituent entity and have full equality.

In a similar way some Muslims have accepted the federation in the knowledge that the road to Europe and NATO's Partnership for Peace, and thus also well-being and security, leads only via Croatia and with Croatia.

It is also obvious that some Muslims still have other priorities and view the federation as a transitional phase. This can perhaps be understood, but it is certainly politically dangerous. If this faction were to predominate, the Bosniaks would as a whole find themselves in the position of being under pressure from two worlds—in other words in a position which, history teaches us, is most dangerous for the one who vacillates. So the expected first session of the joint council will be primarily a test for Sarajevo itself, and for it to decide which side it truly wants to be on and with how much political will.

Granic To Visit Belgrade for Talks in January

LD0301205396 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 2005 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 3 Jan (BETA)—Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic will be going to Belgrade [some time] between 10 and 15 January, Zvonimir Markovic, head of the bureau of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade, told the BETA agency today.

This will be the first visit by the Croatian foreign minister to Belgrade. Former Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic was in Zagreb in the spring of 1994, after which a reciprocal visit by Granic was intimated, but it never came about.

Preparations for Granic's visit to Belgrade are "in the finishing touches stage," Markovic said, and he assessed that "it is a good sign that the normalization process is not being interrupted."

There are plenty of topics for discussion, Markovic said, and cited the oil pipeline, highway, and railway transport. He pointed out that the suspension of sanctions opens up other possibilities too.

Markovic expressed doubt that Granic will discuss Prevlaka during his visit to Belgrade.

Asked whether Granic will have talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Markovic replied that this is possible.

He said the Croatian side "has done a great deal in terms of pardoning 455 people" which is "a big step and a bonus which cannot be ignored."

Official Denies Territorial Dispute With FRY

LD0401101396 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mario Nobilo, Croatian ambassador to the United Nations, has rejected claims by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia about the existence of a territorial dispute over Prevlaka. In a letter to the UN Security Council president, he described as untrue claims to this effect made by the FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic. The UN mandate for Prevlaka expires on 15 January 1996 and, according to Nobilo, the Croatian Government considers as unacceptable claims designed to cause instability from the legal point of view and to give rise to dilemmas regarding the status of some parts of Croatia's sovereign territory.

Normalization of Relations With Belgrade Viewed

AU0301140096 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 95 p 5

[Article by Aleksandar Milosevic: "Forgive But Do Not Forget the War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When, a little over four years ago, the Yugo Army war machinery was started and many Croatian towns came under attack from Serb artillery, one of the consequences was the breakdown in telecommunications between Croatia on the one hand and Serbia and Montenegro on the other. This happens in every war. After many political talks and the

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documents signed on Tuesday [18 December] afternoon, telecommunications between Croatia and the FRY were reestablished on Tuesday afternoon. Does that mean that the war is over, too?

Optimists would say yes, while realists would say: "We will see...." At any rate, the reestablishment of telecommunications is a sign that the solution to the crisis in the region is coming to an end and that the solution will after all be political rather than military. The Yugo Army experienced an overall breakdown in the area, while Croatia liberated the greatest part of its occupied territory through military action after political agreements bore no fruit. The issue that remains to be resolved concerns the reintegration of eastern Slavonia, western Srijem, and Baranja into the constitutional and legal organization of the Republic of Croatia. This was one of the topics of discussion during the 20-day talks at Wright Patterson Air Base near Dayton, while the framework for the solution was provided in the Basic Agreement signed in Zagreb and Erdut. However, after a while the implementation and elaboration of the agreement came to a diplomatic and political standstill. Moreover, Belgrade tried to conduct more blackmail by demanding that Croatia give up Prevlaka. According to Milosevic's idea, that was to be the price of the mutual recognition of Croatia and the so-called FRY.

They Played the Wrong Card

They played the wrong card. Territorial exchanges are out of the question. Croatia clearly stated that in the parliament as well as at the recently held conference in Petersberg near Bonn. Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic clearly told both Belgrade and the entire international community that Croatia would withdraw from the Conference on the Consolidation of Trust in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Disarmament in the Former Yugoslavia if Belgrade continued to stall the meeting of the obligations made in Dayton and confirmed in Paris. It is indicative that the United States has shown complete understanding for the Croatian position. The world's greatest military and economic superpower gave full support to Croatia. This was confirmed in the talks that President Tudjman had on Tuesday with the charge d'affaires of the U.S. Embassy in Zagreb. U.S. support was even more prominently shown in the letter that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher sent to the Croatian president.

In talks with the U.S. charge d'affaires and Warren Christopher's letter, U.S. support to the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia was confirmed, as was the unity regarding the number and type of the international forces that are to arrive to eastern Slavonia soon, which is particularly important. As opposed to the UN secretary general's plans anticipating the arrival of over 10,000 troops that are to be part of the UN peace forces (another UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] or UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia]), Croatia and the United States are demanding that it be 5,000 troops at the most. It is particularly important that most of these troops would be from the countries that are permanent members of NATO.

If Butrus-Ghali's options were to be accepted, the deadline for disarming the rebel Serb paramilitary formations in eastern Slavonia, western Srijem, and Baranja would be extended, and the entire area would again become some kind of protected Sector East. Croatia could not agree to such an option.

It is evident that the pressure of the international community on Belgrade has been exceptionally strong in the past several days. It took place far from the eyes of the public, but it yielded the initial results, which is the reestablishment of telecommunications between Croatia and the so-called FRY. We would do well to remember that a year ago there was also talk about the possibility of normalization of this kind of communications, but it did not happen because Belgrade did not accept the Croatian demands. Operations Flash and Storm occurred in the meantime, and luck turned its back on the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while in Dayton Milosevic had to sign the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders, among other documents. In short, the dream of Greater Serbia has definitely been wrecked.

Croatian Demands

How will relations between Croatia and the so-called FRY continue to develop? Many political observers believe that mutual recognition will soon occur. Croatia has shown readiness to normalize relations and establish diplomatic relations at the level of embassies, but it also set some conditions. Croatia is primarily concerned over the issue of the future of prisoners and missing persons, mostly from Vukovar, but also from other parts of Croatia. The list that was given to representatives of the Belgrade regime contains over 2,000 names. The two committees headed by the deputy prime ministers will continue their work and it is believed that the initial results will be announced at about the same time formal mutual recognition between Croatia and the so-called FRY takes place. With this act Belgrade will take the last step in officially giving up territorial pretensions toward the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which means that the issue of eastern Slavonia will, like the issue of Prevlaka, be taken off the agenda. Croatia never believed this was disputable. It is also particularly important that the international community made it

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known to Belgrade that it would not pressure Croatia into any kind of yielding. Even if the international community were to try, Zagreb has made it clearly known that there will be no discussion of the territorial integrity of Croatia with anyone.

After mutual recognition, normalization of economic relations will certainly also follow, since it is in the interest of both Zagreb and Belgrade. The international community is demanding that political relations be normalized, which is in the interest of Croatia, which wants to have good relations with its neighbors. How Slobodan Milosevic's regime will answer the questions of its people is another issue. Why was the Yugo Army machinery started to begin with, and why was there a war for four years if nothing of the Memorandum [of the Serb Academy of Sciences and Arts] plan on Greater Serbia has been realized?

The Issue of Forgiveness

The warning that Zagreb issued to the rebel Serbs in Croatia, which said that they were merely a weapon in Belgrade's hegemonic plans, has turned out to be right. Persuaded by Belgrade to rebel, many Serbs in Croatia rejected the possibility of living in a country that was homeland to their grandfathers, as well as of coexistence with the Croats, to whom Croatia is the only mother country. Instructed in Belgrade, the Knin leaders chose the path of war and violence and finally experienced inevitable defeat, as did their spiritual leaders from the Serb Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Serb Orthodox Church.

The coming normalization of relations between Zagreb and Belgrade raises many questions in the souls of many Croats and citizens of Croatia who experienced the monstrosity of the Greater Serbian plans, primarily concerning forgiveness. Can the Croats and the citizens of Croatia who lost their loved ones and their property in the war, and whose human dignity has been crushed, forgive the butchers? The issue of forgiveness is not a matter of any political declaration or agreement, but of moral understanding and the power of the one who is to forgive. The greatness of the winner, which Croatia is, reflects in the ability to forgive, among other things. Therefore, Croatia will probably forgive Serbia for the evil that was done during the long and bloody war. However, will it also forget? That is a different issue.

In simple terms, no one can expect to erase from the historical memory of Croatia and its citizens the memory of the suffering of Vukovar, the destruction of Dubrovnik, the crimes committed in Vocin, Struga, and Skabrnja, and the rockets that landed on the children's hospital in Zagreb. No one can demand that Croatia erase from its historical memory the fate of Ivana, a girl from Osijek who was killed on her 13th birthday in her parents' apartment. It is not possible to forget the humiliated and the insulted, the ones who were expelled from their homes; it is not possible to forget the images of Chetnik orgies in Dalj, Ilok, Kostajnica, Petrinja, and other Croatian towns. These are simply traumas that will remain, and no documents or telephone lines can or should erase that. Yes to normalizating relations, yes to forgiveness, but NO to forgetting.

After all, Croatia and Serbia wish to go in different directions, as was best shown during the Homeland War. Croatia wants to proceed toward Europe. It wants to join European and international integration and is not giving up on its European and Mediterranean civilization circle. Serbia has not shown with as much as one act that it wants anything else but to be part of the eastern civilization, built on different moral and political foundations. Two countries with wishes and ways so different can indeed be one next to the other. They can cooperate, and they must acknowledge each other, but that is all there is.

In this light reestablishment of telecommunications should be taken only as a step toward political normalization, not as an announcement of something else. As far as Croats and the citizens of Croatia are concerned, Belgrade has used up all moral credit a long time ago.

B-H Refugees Object to Sharing Camp With Serbs

AU0301165396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Jan 96

[Report by Nada al Issa from Zagreb—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the occasion of the New Year, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman amnestied approximately 400 Croatian Serbs who took part in the armed rebellion against the Republic of Croatia and released them from prison. Now that they have been amnestied, they will be exchanged for imprisoned Croats in camps in Serbia. Prior to the exchange, they were placed in the Gasinci refugee camp. The persons in question were mostly members of the Serbian paramilitary formations in the former so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina. Many of them fought within these units in the attacks on Bihac, helped war criminal Fikret Abdic in the so-called Western Bosnia, and fought against the Bosnia-Herzegovina 5th Army Corps.

The refugees in Gasinci say they do not understand this move by the Croatian authorities. The situation is very unpleasant because it is difficult to be together with those who had devastated one's country and killed one's people, even though they are disarmed and completely helpless now.

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Risk of Floods as Sava River's Levels Rise

LD0301135896 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the water level of the Sava River in its upper flow from Radece to Jasenovac is falling, in its mid-flow through Slavonija—from Mackovac and Davor toward Zupanja—it continues to rise. According to the latest readings, the level of water today at Mackovac is 897 [cm]; Davor 887; Kobas 776; Migalovci 508; Slavonski Brod 735, and Slavonski Samac 621 cm.

According to the Croatian water authority's defense plan against floods, the emergency state against floods in the Nova Gradiska area at Mackovac and Davor is proclaimed when the water level reaches 960 cm, which means that in this region regular flood protection is still in force. In view of the fact that the so-called "holes" at Stara Gradiska and Pivare have not been repaired, the dikes are leaking and this area of the embankment is flooded but under control.

In the area of the Sava basin around Brod [Slavonski Brod] according to Davorin Priha, the leader of the defense team against floods, the regular measures to defend against floods are in force and emergency measures are introduced when the water level at most points at Slavonski Brod reaches 720, and at Samac 600 cm.

As the water levels of the Sava River have already passed this critical point when emergency measures are introduced, this was not applied as the dikes are not softened and are still resisting this level of water.

All this has been agreed upon with the center for defense against floods of the Croatian Water authority in Zagreb, whose experts, together with experts from Brod, will this afternoon visit the area and decide on further steps. All pumping stations in the Sava basin from Vrbovljana to Slavonski Samac are fully operational and there are no major problems with side waters. Only at Rusica, near Slavonski Brod, water flooded the football pitch—something that is a regular occurrence at every high level of the Sava waters.

The rise of the water level of our largest river is caused, according to Priha, by the increased water flow of its Bosnian tributaries, Vrbas at Davor and Bosna at Samac.

Inflation Rate of 3.7 Percent Reported for 1995

AU0301212696 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by D.K.: "Last Year's Inflation 3.7 Percent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—Last year ended with inflation at 3.7 percent. According to data from the State Institute for Statistics, in December 1995, retail prices were 3.7 percent higher than in December 1994. The trend of a gradual increase of prices was evident throughout 1995, while 1994 will be remembered as the year of deflation.

The cost of living rose faster than retail prices, and over the last 12 months it went up by 4.5 percent in all. This increase was mostly influenced by the rise in the prices of "tobacco and drinks" products, which went up by 17.6 percent. A more considerable jump (13.8 percent) was registered in the prices of education, culture, and entertainment, and traffic and postal services, which went up by 6.5 percent last year.

The prices of industrial products marked the lowest increase last year, only 1.6 percent. Despite the usual rise in the demand for consumer goods on the eve of the Christmas holidays, in December their retail price rose by only 0.2 percent in comparison to November. The cost of living that month rose by 0.7 percent and cost-based prices increased by 0.5 percent.

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Diplomatic Relations Established With Oman

AU0301212496 Skopje MIC in English 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the Sultanate of Oman established diplomatic relations today, the Macedonian Foreign Ministry announced.

The ceremony took place in the United Nations building, while the joint announcement was signed by the ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia Denko Maleski and the ambassador of Oman, Salim Bin Mohamed Al Kusaibi [name as received].

Apart from this, Oman is a member of the Security Council, and its president during last month.

Assembly Chairman Andov Discusses Parliament Work

AU0401084196 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 30 Dec 95 -2 Jan 96 p 2

[Interview with Assembly Chairman Stojan Andov by Erol Rizaov and Katica Cangova; place and date not given: "The Parliament—Foundation of State and Stability"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Mr. Chairman, you have been given the top function in parliament in two mandates. What are your assessments on the work of the parliament after the first year of the second multiparty parliament?

[Andov] I think that this parliament is functioning in a way that is usual for parliamentary democracy in conditions of the majority of a political grouping. This parliament has demonstrated high efficiency in the last year, and in some moments it showed itself to be appropriately decisive.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The coalition partners have a majority in parliament. Nevertheless, the parliament has remained without a strong opposition that could sometimes correct the political forces. Do you believe that the parliament lacks criticism in the process of lawmaking due to the absence of opposition?

[Andov] The present parliament's composition results from the wish of the majority of the citizens from the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. It is true that the coalition partners have the majority in the parliament. In principle, this situation in parliamentary democracy means greater efficiency of the executive power. Practically, all serious political partners in the coalition aspire to such a parliament.

The balance in parliamentary democracy is always provided by the opposition. This is the golden rule that guarantees not only a critical relationship in legislative processes, but also a tested competition of ideas and concepts. Constructive opposition within the framework of parliament and outside it is a democratic factor and simply a living need.

Considering the fact that a number of the opposition political parties gave up their participation in the last parliamentary elections in the Republic of Macedonia, we have the present parliament with the majority of the coalition partners, and as you say, without a strong opposition. However, this is not a black-and-white picture, first of all, because of the fact that the coalition itself is composed of parties of different ideological and political backgrounds. The coalition is structured with the aim of providing an efficient administrative function and a better accomplishment of the reforms. In principle, I approve of a critical attitude in the process of making laws, without which it is difficult to talk about democracy in adopting laws.

Relaxed Situation in Judicial Establishment

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The parliament plays an important role in the stabilization or destabilization of the state. We witnessed hot debates in the first Assembly. This parliament is mainly dealing with voting, less with critical debates. Is the present situation a result of well-prepared sessions or of the absence of opposition?

[Andov] I fully agree with your assessment that the parliament has an important role in the stabilization or destabilization of the situation in the state, particularly if it has to do with parliamentary democracy. The events of the last few months are the best illustration of this. Let me just mention that one of the goals of the terroristic act against President Kiro Gligorov of the Republic of Macedonia was to cause a blockage in the work of the parliament. More exactly, to prevent the adoption of important solutions for the normalization of relations with neighborly Greece. It is a question that was of great importance not only for mutual relations, but for stability in the region at large, and it was even an element of a broader world peace action. Our parliament really passed the test of a state and stability at that moment.

A simple comparison between the previous and the present parliament is simply impossible. In the first parliament, we were practically taking the first steps for the establishment of parliamentary democracy. We had far less experience then than we have now. Objectively speaking, at that time the political tensions were much stronger, I would even say the frustrations, and it is

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true that on some occasions that parliament looked more like a public forum than an executive body. It was also a typically political composition of opposed groupings and structures. It is a fact that the previous parliament was reprimanded for inefficiency in performing its executive function. However, that parliament, and I hope that you will agree, made some important and decisive decisions for our state and its democratic development. That is why I think that even that parliament played a successful role.

The present arrangement of forces in the parliament has objectively stronger foundations for intensification of its executive function. In only one year a large number of important laws have been adopted. The parliament has greatly relaxed the situation in the relations in different spheres and it has eased the process of the reforms.

Regarding the balance between the parliament as a "voting machine" and a "public forum," it is a question of developed democratic ambience, of the real composition of the political forces, of the level of political culture, and critical consciousness. This balance is the ultimate goal of every modern parliamentary democracy.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] In the last year the Assembly has fulfilled its job, everything that is proposed by the government is put on the agenda of the sessions, and it all passes without problems. What will be the central activity during the remaining mandate of the parliament?

[Andov] It is true that the Assembly has fulfilled its job, and I think that has to be appreciated. The remaining part of the mandate of this parliament will have to be focused on the completion of the laws on local self-management, the relations in the state administration, the public services. Necessary laws will have to be adopted for the electoral system. The relations in the sphere of property will have to be regulated through denationalization, as well as land property, including the work of the trading associations, the public sector, completion of financial institutions that are necessary for marketing conditions, and modernization of trade unions and collective agreements. It is necessary to complete the work in the sphere of the administration of justice and courts, as well as solutions regarding the mass media. So, the central activity of this parliament until the end of its mandate will be to make our administration compatible with the administrations of countries with developed democracy.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The members of parliament often react to the position in which they have been put by the government. Whatever the executive power proposes they adopt, and at the same time they claim that the parliament has been transformed into an executive body of the executive power.

[Andov] You are right, there are such reactions among the members of parliament. However, we must not forget that the relations between the government and parliament first of all depend on the members of parliament.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Quorum is the old bane of this parliament as well. Is the work of the parliament monotonous or do the members of parliament give priority to their personal progress rather than to the mandate that they have been given by the voters?

[Andov] It is true that this parliament is often faced with the problem of a quorum. However, I would like to stress that it is unfair to conclude that the lack of quorum has prevented this assembly from performing its duties.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The Alliance for Macedonia received a majority at the last elections because of its orientation toward peace and economic progress. Recently, Branko Crvenkovski, SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] president, stated that the coalition is not a closed room and that anyone can step out of it if he pleases. It seems that this coalition is becoming endangered by the open showdown among the political parties aimed at acquiring better positions in the authority, and managerial and leading positions in the enterprises.

[Andov] The Alliance for Macedonia was given great confidence by the citizens because of its orientation toward peace and economic progress, but also because of the fact that it promoted itself as a center that will gather the political forces in the country for democratic and efficient power. At the same time, it promoted itself as a center for ideas that will lead to a common goal: strengthening of the country's independent position, its democratic development, successful reforms, and strengthening of Macedonia's international subjectivity. The Alliance was not created for showdowns among the partners in the struggle for power. On the contrary, it was created on the basis of principles and on the basis of the expressed will of the voters.

It is true that the coalition is not a closed room, because it is not one political party. Development of relations within the framework of the coalition is necessary and it will be followed by testing the common and separate political interests within itself. Finally, each one of the partners, together with the Alliance as a whole, have a responsibility before the majority of the voters from the aspect of consistency in the completion of the

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proclaimed policy and rapprochement with the declared goals.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] There are open discussions that the relations among the ruling coalition partners are seriously damaged, and even that there is personal intolerance among the party leaders. In this sense, the statement of the Executive Board of the Liberal Party on the situation following the assassination attempt against the president of the state caused strong reactions.

[Andov] The relations among the ruling coalition partners are, I would say, under some healthy tensions. They are neither fully damaged nor is there a personal intolerance among the leaders. Personal intolerance is a question of private and not coalition relations. The reasons for the tensions are the different ideas and proposals on some questions related to the establishment of economic and political relations, and even assessments on the situation in the state. Ultimately, this is totally normal among different political parties and basically it is a part of the democratic game in a coalition. To prevent the birth of different ideas and proposals within the Alliance for Macedonia would transform it into a retrograde political structure from the past, and this is something that this political grouping must not allow.

On the other hand, I am glad that you gave such an assessment on the statement of the Executive Board of the Liberal Party. I agree that the reaction to it was strong and fast, but this was your reaction, and not the reaction of the whole public.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The Liberals complain that someone is chasing them away from the Alliance for Macedonia coalition because he himself is not capable of finding an appropriate solution for that. Is this claim true?

[Andov] The parties are free to present their own assessments, views, and proposals. Actually, this is one of the main characteristics of a multiparty system. Each one of the partners has his own truth, and nobody has a monopoly on the truth. It depends, first of all, on the citizens as to which stance the will take as true, as well as on many other circumstances. It is within this framework and context that we must take every separate view of each party, including the one of the Liberals.

Nobody Is Released From Feeling Danger

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The Liberals have insisted a lot on a radical transformation of the Ministry of the Interior. After the assassination attempt against the president of the state, the mass media criticized Minister Frckovski and the Liberals kept quiet. Actually, the Liberals criticized the investigation on several grounds. What is the opinion of the Liberal Party on the investigation?

[Andov] It is true that the Liberals had insisted on a more radical transformation of the Ministry of the Interior. The request of the Liberals was that all services connected with the civil status of man and which are of a governing character and that are not connected with supervision and repression should be separated from this ministry. Some changes that will remove the remnants of the previous system as political police were also suggested. The idea was to create frameworks and space for development of efficient police services for the struggle against general and organized crime, terrorism, and other criminal acts without perpetuating day-by-day influence over these services.

As regards the investigation connected with the assassination attempt against the president of the state, I cannot and I would not like to speak on behalf of the Liberal Party or its members, because I think that this question must not be related to party criteria or be a subject of interparty relations. I believe that the citizens expressed their attitude with their condemnation of the criminal act and with their wishes for Gligorov to come back to the office as soon as possible, which is exactly what has happened recently. They expect the instigators, the organizers, and the executors of this criminal act to be brought to justice. We are all happy because we maintained peace in the country, because we maintained the same political course in the country. However, nobody is released from the thought that the criminals are free and from the feeling that these maintained values can be endangered now or in the future. That is why all the citizens expect the investigation to be completed and successfully ended.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The reshuffled personnel at the Privatization Agency and the Steering Committee were seen as victims of an interparty settling of accounts, and there were also some opinions that it had to do with some political trade, but also was a result of lack of communications between the agency and the government.

[Andov] As you know, in the last few months the government found it appropriate to reshuffle about a hundred officials. On several occasions, as you say, the mass media speculated about some alleged interparty settling of accounts. I never used any of these occasions to show an interest in more concrete information. I consider all these cases as an exclusive responsibility of the government and within its competence.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] There are also some speculations that one of the Liberal officials was not replaced by the SDSM but by the Liberals themselves, because

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he came too close to Vasil Tupurkovski. How much of this is true?

[Andov] This is not true.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Some mass media speculate that the Liberals are in a progressive phase of negotiations with the opposition party VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity]. Are there any grounds for such claims?

[Andov] This is also not true.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] There are rumors about a crisis in the government, and it is also said that half of the members of the Social Democratic Alliance were recruited by the Liberals. Does this have to do with a conflict between the SDSM with the aim of covering up the mistakes and weaknesses of this party?

[Andov] Whether there are rumors about a crisis in the government—I do not know. In any case, such rumors have not reached me yet. However, if there are rumors about the Liberals recruiting SDSM members and vice versa—they are totally unfounded. Apparently, the advocates of these ideas do not have a high opinion of the two mentioned parties or of their parliamentary groups.

Speculations Following the Assassination Attempt Were Aimed at Causing Insecurity

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Interethnic relations are the main cornerstone of the stability of the state. Is there progress in the development of interethnic relations in Macedonia compared to the situation when the first parliament was constituted because now Albanian political parties participate in the authority?

[Andov] It is true when you say that interethnic relations are the main cornerstone of the stability of the state. This is the reason why the Republic of Macedonia has attached such importance to this question. In the act with which it proclaimed its independence, and in the constitution, a concept was declared which contains the basic framework for the construction and development of interethnic relations in the state. We can say that this concept contains two equally important goals which differ, but complement each other and represent an organic entity. One of them is the constitutional basis for the creation of a number of legal and sublegal solutions which guarantee the members of the nationalities their national identity and cultural traditions. The other goal is the constitutional guarantee for equal rights of the citizens, which implies integration of the members of the nationalities as citizens in all aspects of our civil society and segments of the state. Since the adoption of the constitution, in my opinion, good results have been achieved in the accomplishment of these two basic goals. This concept has also received international support.

The Party for Democratic Prosperity is participating in the government and I think that this is useful and good. Regardless of some statements made by some members of this party, or on its behalf, I have the impression that the core of its membership has a moderate political stance. It is exactly in this dominant part of this party's membership that the interest for the accomplishment of the second goal from our constitutional concept on development of interethnic relations is growing. These signs indicate the possibility for this party's advancement toward more up-to-date civil positions. This would certainly strengthen the positions of this party within the framework of its electoral body, and at the same time it would make it more cooperative with other "non- Albanian" parties.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Following the assassination attempt against President Gligorov, there appeared many speculations about possible successors. Your name was also mentioned in these speculations. Did this occur because of some of your statements or activities, or was it just ordinary political speculation abroad?

[Andov] The assassination attempt against Republic President Kiro Gligorov gave birth to the so-called subject of possible successors. Unfortunately, this was speculated about even before the assassination attempt. Today, three months after the assassination attempt, there are no mass media that are dealing with this subject, either in the country or abroad.

The speculations just after the assassination attempt were a part of the same scenario and they were projected with the aim of causing insecurity, uncertainty, and doubts that President Gligorov would not go back to his office, and thus create fear within the majority of the citizens. It is true that in these speculations my name was mentioned and, most frequently, this was done in an improper way. There were attempts to mock and to put at risk the constitutional obligation about replacing the president of the Republic of Macedonia for the period of his incapability, as well as some various "reliable" pieces of information from political sources from the country that were quoted by the foreign mass media and then broadcast in our country, dealing in bad taste and evil interpretations of my personal integrity. This monstrous type of campaign is usually conducted by personalities and structures that are inferior to the democratic competition of ideas and concepts and who are afraid that their evil intention and background role may be revealed.

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[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Our society is in transition, and this is a process that will probably last a long time. In your opinion, is the whole system being completed in the country with a desirable timing, or is there any stopping?

[Andov] I am following the international attempts to assess and compare the process of transition with that of other former socialist countries. Although we cannot be fully proud of the place on which our country is put on this ranking list, we should not be unhappy with the process of transition in our country, considering the circumstances under which it is being performed.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Currently, there is privatization of state-owned enterprises going on, as one of the conditions for successful economy. Although we have been living in parliamentary democracy for five years already, according to some, the privatization was going at a slow pace, while others claim that the transformation of social capital is carried out with success.

[Andov] It is true that the privatization of state-owned enterprises is a very important element throughout the whole process of transition. There are different assessments about the privatization in our country. I think that it is still very early to say exactly how this process has been carried out in our country so far. It has to be continued and its effects have to be monitored very carefully.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The mass media have a fatal influence on the total development of the state. What is your assessment of the situation in the mass media and are they affected by some political parties?

[Andov] I will be very precise—mass media has an enormous and fatal influence on the development of democracy. In this sense I appreciate highly and positively the development of the mass media in the Republic of Macedonia. I am encouraged by the fact that criticism is strengthened and independent journalism is developing, which is the dominant goal in our mass media. This is a long process, but the most important thing is that the matters are moving in this direction.

Logically, the mass media share the fate of the society and are meeting many controversies in this typically transitional period. Their material base is not yet completed, as well as their ownership, so as to enable them to accomplish an independent position and fight against influence in some political or economic structure. Sometimes they succeed in this, other times they do not.

Finally, let me wish a Happy New Year to all your readers and to all the citizens.

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Kwasniewski To Visit France, Germany 9-11 Jan

LD0301194096 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1833 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 3 Jan—President Aleksander Kwasniewski is going to pay his first foreign visit to Germany and France, Wojciech Lamentowicz, under secretary of state for foreign affairs at the Presidential Chancellery, told journalists today. The visit is to take place between 9 and 11 January.

According to Lamentowicz, Kwasniewski will be accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Dariusz Rosati.

During the visit to Bonn on 9 and 10 January, Kwasniewski will meet Chancellor Helmut Kohl, President Roman Herzog, and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel.

The program of President Kwasniewski's visit to Paris envisages meetings with President Jacques Chirac, Prime Minister Alain Juppe, and Foreign Minister Herve de Charette. Kwasniewski is also expected to meet representatives of the French business community.

According to Lamentowicz, the first visit by President Kwasniewski demonstrates the great importance Poland attaches to the Weimar Triangle (Paris, Bonn, Warsaw). After the elections in France and Poland, the three countries remain faithful to trilateral cooperation, Lamentowicz stressed.

Kwasniewski Appoints Nine Chancellery Officials

LD0301134396 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 3 Jan 96

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Aleksander Kwasniewski has appointed two secretaries and seven under secretaries of state at his Chancellery.

The president's political service will be headed by Marek Siwiec. The National Security Office will be headed by Jerzy Milewski. Zbigniew Siemiatkowski becomes under secretary of state and Milewski's deputy. Social affairs will be looked after by former Freedom Union Deputy Barbara Labuda. Labor Union Deputy Wojciech Lamentowicz becomes a foreign policy adviser. Democratic Left Alliance Deputy Krzysztof Janik will be in charge of issues related to local government. Andrzej Majkowski, a former Ministry of Foreign Affairs official, will look after the preparation of foreign visits and contacts with the diplomatic corps.

The finance and legal affairs department will be looked after by Janusz Kociszewski and Andrzej Gliniecki, who were heads of these departments in Lech Walesa's Chancellery.

Marek Siwiec said that, in connection with his appointment, he will resign as a member of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council.

'Personalized Chancellery'

WS0401095496 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 23 Dec 95 p 17

[Article by Danuta Waniek: "What the Office of the President Will Be Like; Personalized Chancellery"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Lately, when I was preparing to take over as the head of the Presidential Chancellery, I reached out to different sources, hoping that I could find inspiration for the concept of how the office should function. And—a slightly surprising thing—I did not find much.*

The constitution states the obvious: that the chancellery is an executive office of the president (Article 48, Paragraph 2). From this rule, some authors of learned books have deduced another obvious thing, that the president can form the organizational structure of the chancellery according to his will. Such organizational freedom has been confirmed by practice. Lech Walesa changed the structure of his chancellery about three times. He did so a few months ago, in the process of the presidential campaign.

This leads to the obvious conclusion that the character of such institutions as the Presidential Chancellery is described rather vaguely in our constitutional system. This undoubtedly has some advantages because such a situation allows the new president to create his own concept that would, on the one hand, be congruent with his constitutional prerogatives and, on the other, be aimed at the realization of the goals resulting from the electoral platform and the personality of Aleksander Kwasniewski. The closest circle that will serve the president will be his cabinet and a team of aides and specialists from different areas. They will deal most generally with planning political strategy, and they will be subordinate to Aleksander Kwasniewski. In my opinion, the lack of such a political and programmatic unit within the administration of Lech Walesa seriously affected the quality of his presidency.

The core of the president's administrative system will be offices subordinate to the head of the chancellery; they will deal with more than just office duties. To date, discussions have led in the direction that the offices are to be responsible for the following areas:

—Office for International Relations. It will take care of presidential prerogatives resulting from Articles 32 and 33 of the small constitution

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—Office for Social and Economic Affairs. It will deal primarily with the implementation of elements of the electoral platform, referring, among other things, to rural reform, a vision for Polish agriculture within the European Union, housing problems, starting points for youth, and so forth.

—Financial and Administrative Office

—Office for Legal and Constitutional Affairs (legislative work, supervision of constitutional work, organizational help for the National Judicial Council)

—Office for Self-Government and Municipal Affairs. It results from the electoral platform of Aleksander Kwasniewski, who has greatly stressed reform of public administration and its cooperation with self-governments.

—Office for Social Contacts and Citizen Initiatives, the existence of which is deemed very important by Aleksander Kwasniewski, who has stressed the necessity of making his office more open to the public. The office will deal not only with regular complaints and motions. Primarily, it will carry out direct contacts between the president and even the smallest communities or individual citizens. During the presidential campaign, Aleksander Kwasniewski became known in a direct way to several hundred thousand Polish men and women. It is his profound wish that, during his five years in office, the new president can meet personally with millions of people and that he can be useful to them.

Kwasniewski clearly intends to break with the "system of councils" that were appointed by Lech Walesa. I think that this method of opening the office for social initiatives was effectively compromised in the last presidency. Still, it is not impossible that the president's councils will be exchanged for pluralistic teams of experts, appointed to help solve a particular important question.

The structure of Aleksander Kwasniewski's administration is defined by the president's constitutional prerogatives resulting from Articles 34, 35, 36, and 37 of the small constitution, which refer to the president's general command in the area of external and internal security of the state. This area has been dealt with so far by the National Security Office. Still, Article 43 of the small constitution has not been followed; it specifies that the president's advisory unit in this area is the National Security Council. I think that Aleksander Kwasniewski will soon take care of this gap so that the state offices functioning in this area, so important for the country, have proper legal constitutional foundations. From the political point of view, the offices should have pluralistic views and opinions expressed. This is important simply due to the fact that we have so many specialists in this area in Poland.

All of the main directions of the new administration's activities that I have enumerated will be guided by the idea of a Common Poland that will be binding throughout the entire presidency of Aleksander Kwasniewski. We remember how often during his long and tiring presidential campaign Kwasniewski stressed the necessity of dialogue, tolerance, and agreement. I think it is the willingness to cooperate and not the initiating of small and big wars that will soon decide the style of this presidency. The openness and clarity of actions of the Presidential Office that have been declared by Aleksander Kwasniewski are the first important guidance on this path.

Personnel Changes Reported at Ministry of Finance

WS0301160596 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Jan 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Chess Moves at the Finance Ministry; Modzelewski Leaves"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Huge changes are taking place within the Ministry of Finance. Witold Modzelewski, the main expert on taxes, is leaving. He is to be replaced by Witold Manugiewicz, a household name since he took the case of President Walesa's unpaid taxes.*

The official reason for the dismissal of Deputy Finance Minister Modzelewski is the fact that he has been assigned to organize the National Treasury School.

Government Spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska refused to tell us any more details yesterday. Marek Wagner, deputy chief of Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko's Cabinet, said only that he would not look for any hidden meaning in the fact that Deputy Minister Modzelewski is to be replaced by Deputy Minister Manugiewicz, who also dealt with tax issues in the past.

It was rumored at the Ministry of Finance yesterday that Modzelewski's dismissal may be related to the ruling passed by the Constitutional Tribunal on the 1996 tax law. The tribunal stated that the amended law, providing for, among other things, a six-band tax scale, violates the constitution. The verdict meant that the governing coalition was unable to keep the promise it had given the Union of Labor and lower taxes for the lowest income groups. The minister also was blamed for allowing taxpayers to deduct donations to relatives, friends, and even neighbors from taxes in 1995 and 1996, thus generating huge losses for the budget.

Deputy Minister Manugiewicz was formerly inspector general of the internal revenue services. He supervised

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the case of the tax President Walesa failed to pay on the $1 million he received from the U.S. film company Warner Bros. The post of inspector general is now to be filled by Jan Kubik of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL].

The finance minister's first deputy, Krzysztof Kalicki, will no longer be in charge of the restructuring of state banks or the transformation of companies owned by the State Treasury. He is to be replaced by Ryszard Pazura (affiliated with the PSL). Kalicki is to be responsible for the public debt and foreign affairs, mainly for preparing Poland to join the group of the world's wealthiest states, the OECD.

Another Resignation

WS0401122896 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Jan 96 p 1

[Article by "JACH, KES": "Deputy Minister Resigns; I Do Not Understand Jaskiernia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Justice Minister Boguslaw Dauter has given up his job. "I cannot stand the atmosphere in Justice Minister Jaskiernia's ministry," Dauter told GAZETA WYBORCZA yesterday.

Boguslaw Dauter, 49, nonaligned, has been deputy justice minister since August 1995. Two weeks ago he handed in his resignation to Minister Jerzy Jaskiernia. The latter tried to persuade him to stay, but yesterday Dauter said his decision is final. "I cannot understand some of the personnel decisions made by Minister Jaskiernia—for example, the dismissal of the head of the prosecutor's office's department, Waldemar Smardzewski, and the head of the cadre department, Andrzej Kuba," Dauter told us. "They were very skilled professionals."

Waldemar Smardzewski supported the motion put forth by the head of the Warsaw prosecutor's office, Jerzy Zientek, to remove Aleksander Kwasniewski's immunity in connection with the fact that he had provided untrue information in his tax disclosure. Both Smardzewski and Zientek were dismissed. Warsaw Prosecutor Jerzy Labuda resigned in protest of the dismissals. Andrzej Kuba, who had criticized Minister Jaskiernia's staffing policies, was dismissed on 31 December.

The Sejm Justice Commission is to interview the minister and the dismissed prosecutors to establish whether Jaskiernia is carrying out a political purge of his ministry.

Sejm Commission Interviews People in Oleksy Case

LD0301215096 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 3 Jan 96

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, the Sejm Extraordinary Commission investigating Ministry of Internal Affairs activities regarding the documents connected with Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy's alleged contacts with a foreign intelligence service will have concluded its work before 30 January.

Jozef Zych took part in the first working meeting of the commission.

[Correspondent Wojciech Nomejko] Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych gave assurances that there was full stabilization in Poland and that the Sejm was in full control of all matters.

[Begin Zych recording] We are aiming at a democratic, just, honest clarification of this matter, which will be done in keeping with the law. [end recording]

[Nomejko] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy admitted that he knew Alganov.

[Begin Oleksy recording] I never concealed this. I spoke about it some time ago. One could say that we met frequently, but he was my neighbor at the same housing estate. He was a young diplomat, and very many of my acquaintances, and not only mine, knew him as well. What is sensational about this? I will tell you even more, ladies and gentlemen. I also knew American, Italian, and Spanish diplomats. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] You said that Alganov was your neighbor at the housing estate. Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski was also your neighbor. Did Kwasniewski know Alganov?

[Oleksy] Dear lady, please do not trespass certain limits of questions I will not answer. It is not a question I would like to answer. [end recording]

[Nomejko] The last time Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy met Alganov was in the summer of 1994. In September of that year, the head of the State Protection Office told the prime minister that one of his foreign acquaintances was an officer in a foreign intelligence service. According to [Former Interior Minister] Andrzej Milczanowski, this acquaintanceship was continued.

On the other hand, Jozef Oleksy claims that he made all the contacts impossible. So far it is not clear if the man in question is Alganov. [passage omitted]

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Lech Walesa's electoral staff contended that Alganov's conference was interference in the affairs of a sovereign state. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Defends Himself in TV Interview

LD0301234796 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2300 GMT 3 Jan 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In an evening television program, Pulse of the Day, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said that he did not see as interference in Polish affairs the remarks by officers of the Russian intelligence service concerning his alleged spying activities.

According to Oleksy, remarks on Tuesday by Vladimir Alganov, who confirmed friendship with him, were provoked by the media.

[Begin recording] [Oleksy] If people in other countries spoke about me, especially in such sharp terms, I would also like my voice to be heard. And are you, ladies and gentlemen, listeners, are you yourself not scandalized by the fact that, if the Polish intelligence service purchases something from the Russian or any other intelligence service then everything is all right... [pauses]

[Unidentified correspondent] Prime Minister, what was purchased?

[Oleksy] ...when documents are needed, for example, to accuse the Polish prime minister? [pauses]

[Correspondent] But did the Polish intelligence service purchase anything from a foreign intelligence service?

[Oleksy] But if the other side reacts to this, it is very bad.

[Correspondent] Prime minister, you did not answer the question: What was purchased by the Polish intelligence service from a foreign intelligence service?

[Oleksy] Perhaps you will learn about it shortly. [end recording]

Oleksy Says Relationship With KGB Agent 'Social'

LD0301140996 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The extraordinary commission for the investigation of Interior Ministry activities concerning the accusations against Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has been meeting in the Sejm for three hours now. The first to stand before the commission was former Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski. He was followed by Prime Minister Oleksy.

[Correspondent Marek Kassa] Before the meeting of the commission, the prime minister appealed for restraint in reporting on events connected with the commission's meeting and gave assurances that he wanted full clarification of the accusations against him.

He admitted that he knew the KGB agent Yuriy Alganov but said that it was a purely social relationship. The prime minister said that statements about his case by Russian politicians were solely their own business and that he was not surprised that they were making comments because they had been mentioned by name in our press.

The prime minister hinted that he did not intend to take leave. Oleksy also said that he had not acquainted himself with materials collected on his personal case and that he was not sure he wanted to acquaint himself with them.

Former Interior Minister Milczanowski, who had been replying to the commission's questions for two hours, told correspondents that if he had still been in charge of the ministry he would not have revealed the spying accusations concerning the prime minister but would have continued with the operational activities [investigation]. However, he had to reveal that an investigation was taking place because he did not have any guarantees that his successor would continue the operational activities.

The former Interior Ministry head ruled that the case involving Prime Minister Oleksy could be a provocation instigated by foreign special services. He also said that the materials collected by the State Protection Office concerned only Oleksy. Milczanowski said that he was fulfilling his duty to the state and that it was not his objective to undermine the Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party coalition.

He described the course of his conversation with the commission as matter-of-fact. He said that he could not reveal any details to the press because he was still obliged to preserve official secrecy.

Oleksy Commission Head Links to Stasi Examined

WS0301145896 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Jan 96 p 5

[Article by Ewa Milewicz: "TRYBUNA Attacks Borusewicz; Who Is Afraid of the Commission?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Bogdan Borusewicz cooperated with a Stasi agent," wrote a TRYBUNA reporter in the subhead of his item.

The text was published two days before Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy's hearing in front of a special Sejm commission headed by the Freedom Union deputy.

In the 1970's, Borusewicz was one of the best-known activists of the democratic opposition, a member of the

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Workers Defense Committee, one of the leaders of the Gdansk Shipyard strike in August 1980, and coauthor of the 21 postulates that were developed in the course of that strike. He also was an underground Solidarity leader and chairman of the Solidarity parliamentary club in the previous term of the Sejm.

According to TRYBUNA, Borusewicz himself "confirmed the well-grounded suspicions that he had had close-knit contacts with a foreign intelligence agent in the past."

TRYBUNA's revelations are based on an article published by the German weekly DER SPIEGEL in December. Borusewicz revealed that Detlef Ruser, employed by the Gdansk University of Technology as a citizen of the GDR and still on its payroll, had been spying for Stasi since 1971 under the pseudonym 'Henryk.' He passed on some of the information he gathered to the Polish Security Service. Ruser socialized with oppositionist activists in Gdansk, among them Borusewicz.

DER SPIEGEL quotes Borusewicz as saying: "I knew this man was suspect and warned everybody." "The underground Solidarity," says Borusewicz, "tolerated Ruser because, if we made him leave, someone we might not have been able to identify would have replaced him."

TRYBUNA claims the whole affair would never have seen the light of day had it not been for the DER SPIEGEL publication. The daily accuses Borusewicz of never having had gone public. "We owe it to him that Ruser continues to be employed by the Gdansk University of Technology."

The case of "Henryk" (Ruser), however, was made public by Joachim Gauck, head of the German bureau for Stasi files, during his visit to Poland in 1994. "'Henryk' filed reports on Walesa, [1980's Solidarity leader] Walentynowicz, and Borusewicz," said Gauck. RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter Anna Marszalek quoted what Borusewicz said at the meeting with Gauck. The whole issue was thus known to the public before the DER SPIEGEL article came out.

What can the commission on which Borusewicz sits do? The commission is to investigate not only whether the hitherto operations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Office of State Protection were legitimate, but also examine the most recent operations carried out in connection with the Oleksy affair. The commission has the authority to summon various officials for hearings and ask about issues classified as state secrets. It is to hear Prime Minister Oleksy soon.

Practically speaking, the commission will have access to materials related to the investigation procedures. It can summon the prosecutors and require them to provide explanations.

The resolutions of the 12-person commission are to be passed by an absolute majority vote. The opposition holds five seats, the Polish Peasant Party three, and the Democratic Left Alliance four. Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych has announced that he will take part in the commission sessions. He claims he will thus guarantee the objectivity of the commission.

Comment on Attacks on Commission Head

WS0301153896 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Jan 96 p 5

[Untitled commentary by Helena Luczywo]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Stasi agent ran loose among the Gdansk opposition community of which Bogdan Borusewicz was an eminent representative. Borusewicz and many other oppositionists were well aware of the fact. They did not tell the agent anything important; therefore he was not dangerous. They tolerated his presence in the fear that the Stasi might send a replacement they would not be able to identify. The issue was made public a long time ago; Borusewicz took the first opportunity he had to reveal it.

Currently, however, TRYBUNA is accusing Borusewicz of having maintained regular contacts with the agent. The only proof TRYBUNA has is an article carried by DER SPIEGEL, featuring agent Ruser's account of how he filed reports on Borusewicz and Borusewicz's explanation of why he tolerated the agent's presence.

Why is TRYBUNA, an organ of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, doing this? TRYBUNA is terrified of the special Sejm commission headed by Borusewicz that is to deal with the Oleksy case. It fears the interrogations of Oleksy and the officers who supervise the case at the Office of State Protection. It fears the results of the vote in the commission. It fears that the Democratic Left Alliance does not have a majority on the commission. That is why it is trying to undermine the credibility of the commission by launching an attack on one of its members.

Minister on Material Against Oleksy, Colleagues

WS0301140096 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by "KNYSZ": "Konieczny on Oleksy, Milczanowski, and Anklewicz; Very Interesting Documents"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"I think I would have considered a different solution," said the newly appointed in-*

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terior minister, Jerzy Konieczny, in an interview for the Third Program of Polish Radio. He was commenting on the disclosure of contacts between the prime minister and the KGB by [former Interior] Minister Andrzej Milczanowski. He did make the reservation, however, that this is a "very preliminary opinion."

Konieczny admitted in an interview given to the Third Program of Polish Radio that he has already read the documents submitted by Milczanowski to the military prosecutor's office. He added that this was a "first, preliminary reading and that he would not risk issuing an opinion just yet." He stressed that the "texts are indeed quite interesting."

Monika Olejnik asked Konieczny: "Had you been in Minister Andrzej Milczanowski's shoes, would you have done the same thing?"

"I would be very cautious about answering a question thus formulated. I guess I would have considered a different solution. As I have said, however, this is a very preliminary opinion."

"What would that solution have been?"

"Please do not ask me to say anything more at this point. The issue is far too delicate to jump to premature conclusions. These are simply my first impressions after having read the documents. It would be an exaggeration on my part if I said I had analyzed the materials thoroughly. Unfortunately, I did not have the time to do that."

Of Milczanowski, he said: "Throughout the whole period of our cooperation, I held the highest possible opinion of the minister."

About Andrzej Anklewicz, former officer of the Security Service [SB] and his newly appointed deputy: "I met [Deputy] Minister Anklewicz back in 1990. He was probably the first person I met when I came to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Over the years, I had very good cooperation with Minister Anklewicz. I came to know him as an efficient officer and a conscientious public servant, who was very knowledgeable about all issues pertaining to the ministry and with an unconventional way of thinking. We recently met on the team of advisers to the head of the Council of Ministers. In my view, the last few months we worked together deepened the ties. I personally have no doubt that this was a very good choice."

"Does it not disturb you that he was an SB officer?"

"Throughout my life I have worked and cooperated with hundreds of former SB officers. It would be absurd to change my views now."

Walesa News Conference on Oleksy Affair, Plans

WS0401123896 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Jan 96 p 2

[Article by Rafal Szubstarski: "Walesa: Gentlemen, You Know the Law, So Act"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Lech Walesa revealed yesterday the details of how he had learned about the charges against Oleksy, what he told the top state officials as he informed them about the issue, and what he would do if he were still president.*

"I learned about the charges against Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy on 5 December from three ministers. Back in November, [former Interior] Minister Milczanowski mentioned that top state officials were involved in an affair, but he refused to give me any details," said Walesa during the first news conference he has held since leaving the presidential office. "That secret sealed my lips."

Walesa explained that he had to wait silently until "the case took its natural course." On 19 December he met with the speakers of the Sejm and the Senate and the presidents of the Constitutional Tribunal, the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Administrative Court.

"I said just one sentence: Gentlemen, I have been informed that there is a threat to state security and asked Minister Milczanowski to fill you in," said Walesa. "Concluding the meeting, I said: Gentlemen, you know the law, go and act accordingly."

[Former] Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski and [former] Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski passed on the material in the Oleksy affair to President-elect Aleksander Kwasniewski. "I think one might have expected the president to make some decision," Walesa stated.

He refused, however, to talk about the charges brought against the prime minister. "You cannot watch this as if it were a detective movie. It is far too important. Experts have to look into the case. I know only one thing: This cannot be left alone; the affair must be explained."

When asked what he would do if he were still president, Walesa replied: "I would exert pressure on the investigative authorities to act more quickly."

Walesa also showed reporters a diploma certifying that he had completed a basic vocational school in Lipno in 1961. "But I did conceal the fact that I have a university degree," he quipped.

"However, the president does admit that he has several doctorates," added former Presidential Spokesman Marek Karpinski.

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On 2 January, the Voivodship Court in Warsaw instituted investigations on the education of Walesa, Kwasniewski, and Mazowiecki on the grounds that all three had claimed it to be higher than it was.

"They are trying to make everyone fed up with everything so that people are discouraged about politics because in murky water it is possible to keep power longer and fool around," said Walesa.

He also announced that he will now focus on creating a huge rightist camp, but he will run in neither the parliamentary nor the presidential elections.

Russian Agents, Espionage in Country Explored

WS0301154896 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Jan 96 p 3

[Article by "JACH, KNYSZ": "A Few Hundred KGB Agents in Poland; Best Men Withdrawn From the West"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In the early 1980's the KGB stopped looking upon Poland as an allied country. Russian intelligence began developing its own sources of information, which it kept secret from the Polish services.*

We learned this yesterday from a former high-ranking counterintelligence functionary who left the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] over a year ago and who asked to remain anonymous.

The Entrenching of Agents

Long before the Round Table negotiations took place, the KGB predicted that Poland might get out of the communist camp and began the process of the so-called entrenchment of its agents and the development of a technical infrastructure for them (such as telephone, radio, and television [as published] communications, as well as transport).

According to our interlocutor, the most interesting thing about the KGB's work methods was the fact that full espionage training was used not only in the case of classical intelligence officers who came to Poland. Other people, such as employees of the logistics services, drivers, radio specialists, and telephone and television technicians also were prepared for espionage operations: surveilling, bugging, dealing with entrances protected by alarm systems. If necessary, they also could act as officers, recruiting and then supervising new agents.

Once they were trained, they were sent to various Russian offices in Poland. They worked not only in the embassy and in consulates, but also in commercial centers, Aeroflot, and private joint-venture companies.

Aside from the so-called official resident, who was the liaison between the Interior Ministries of Poland and Russia, in the early 1990's in Poland there were at least a few hundred secret KGB functionaries (not counting functionaries of the GRU—military intelligence). Among them were the best men who had been withdrawn from the West at that time.

The Network Always Ready

At any moment, our informer says, when the need arose, the Russians were in a position to galvanize into action several surveilling sections (pedestrians, automobiles, bugging, photography, video) in order to follow a person ("object") they were interested in or to protect an agent who was working for them.

According to our interlocutor, it is only natural that one of the methods that such a large and expert structure as Russian intelligence used to gather information was the recruitment of Polish agents. Without a doubt, they did not carefully select the so-called personal sources of information. The KGB used the services of anyone who could be useful as an informer.

Another person who commented for us on the revelations of Vladimir Alganov was a high-ranking functionary of the Office of State Protection [UOP]: "The Russians had and still have their agents in Poland." Our interlocutor recalled that in the early 1990's, for instance, the GRU recruited Marek Zielinski, who in the 1980's was an employee of the office of the MSW head. At that time, Vladimir Lomakin, military attache at the Russian Embassy, was found to maintain contacts with Zielinski. He was expelled from Poland and Zielinski got a court sentence for espionage. "We assume that there are many people like Zielinski in our country," says the UOP functionary. "How many?" we asked. "This is one of the top secrets in any state."

NIK Official Talks About Audit System

WS0401105596 Opole NOWA TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 13 Dec 95 p 5

[Interview with Zbigniew Wesolowski, vice president of the Supreme Chamber of Control, by Lina Szejner; place and date not given: "NIK's Latest Audits Discussed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Szejner] To what extent have the workings of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] been influenced by the new bill? Has it broadened or narrowed the board's competence?

[Wesolowski] The NIK's field of activity has significantly broadened, and, for us, this is a sign of recognition from the parliament. We can, for instance, inspect the expenditures of local self-governments. However,

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we would not want to be a party to any political games that may occur in these self-governments. Neither would we scrutinize the purpose of such expenditures. In this respect, we leave full autonomy to self-ruling bodies. They decide how the economized money, as well as that from the budget, should be earmarked. However, we are going to look closely at the legality of their actions and assess their economy and credibility.

[Szejner] Is it true that the board's auditors are not forming personal conclusions anymore?

[Wesolowski] We are going to continue that, but the recommendations will be addressed not to the management of the audited company but to its supervisory bodies—state administration, specialist administration, general assemblies, and the like. We make a diagnosis, but we do not relieve anybody of the responsibility of taking action.

[Szejner] There is a new Department of Information and Analysis at NIK. What is it going to be occupied with?

[Wesolowski] We wanted the workers of this department to prepare analyses that would allow the formation of conclusions pertinent to certain occurrences taking place in the country's economy. We informed the government about this, but we cannot do that on the basis of only one or two audits. The point is that by scrutinizing the functioning of all branches of the domestic industry, we could state what should be changed in the laws and executive regulations.

[Szejner] Have NIK's auditors uncovered any corrupt schemes lately?

[Wesolowski] This is not the way we refer to incorrect occurrences, but there have been a number of pathological cases related mainly to ownership changes, the system of state management, and, finally, the emergence of a growing number of private companies. NIK paid attention to the low efficiency of court executive officers' work and inaccurate regulations related to their activities. It has also determined that court executive officers bear too much of the cost against the recovered money. NIK determined irregularities in the workings of the Polish State Railroads (PKP) and the financing of sciences. Although the money earmarked for this goal is not too much, it is often misappropriated. It happens at the universities being supervised by the Ministry of National Education (MEN), the Ministry of National Defense (MON), the Ministry of Health, and by other departments, including institutes of science managed by the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN). We also paid attention to the implementation of centrally administered investments. They have been dragging on for years—for instance, the rebuilding of the Grand Theater.

[Szejner] NIK is perceived by a part of society as just one more persecuting body.

[Wesolowski] Which it is not. We are not the police but the body of parliamentary control; we work by order of the parliament. Our objective is to present certain occurrences based on reliable information and documents, and, when the occasion arises, we uncover some economic crimes as well.

[Szejner] Do NIK's local chapters have the right to carry out independent audits?

[Wesolowski] Yes. They report the willingness to undertake a specific case and we endorse it. If the auditing of an occurrence is not positive, the very same case is undertaken by all chapters in the country. Next year, the Opole chapter of NIK will begin, at its own request, an audit of how budget funds earmarked for the initiation of progress in agriculture are spent. In this respect, the Opole Voivodship has accomplishments, so perhaps we will find a model solution that other regions should follow.

[Szejner] Can the results of specific chapters' works be measured in zloty terms?

[Wesolowski] Yes, of course. One can successfully determine how much money has returned to the budget following the audits and performed recommendations. In the first half of this year, the Opole branch recovered 5 billion old zlotys for the State Treasury in this way.

[Szejner] It is rumored that NIK got information about the corrupt schemes at the regional Agricultural Market Agencies (ARR), not only from Opole Voivodship.

[Wesolowski] We got that information from the chapters and the press. We know that the agencies are working not on the basis of the money they earned but, rather, on the basis of funds and property channeled from the budget, which they quickly spend. These are not merely individual cases, and we are going to tackle this issue soon.

[Szejner] What is the reason for the NIK-National Bank of Poland (NBP) conflict?

[Wesolowski] This matter is closely related to carrying out an inspection of the functioning of banking supervisory organs, which is in progress now. The guidelines that have been channeled from the NBP to banks make it impossible for us to access certain information, especially that pertinent to acquiring credit. In the meantime, the 1994 Act explicitly provides that the NIK audit the NBP. The parliament and the government want to know how the central bank and banking supervisory bodies perform their duties. If we do not come to terms with

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this bank, we will ask the parliament to help. We are not going to forget about this case because we must have the full picture of the functioning of the banking system.

[Szejner] What are NIK's plans for the coming year?

[Wesolowski] We are going to continue the auditing of specific branches performing their commitments against the budget, the course of the ownership changes process, and big economic entities and banks (including those of the insurance consortia) because these are big companies with huge capital, and we want the big money to be under control. We plan as many as 80 audits, and it is hard to list them all. We will examine, among other things, whether the Act on the Protection of Agricultural and Forest Grounds is abided by; we will examine how the budget funds earmarked for higher education are spent, as well as the functioning of a few industrial branches and the country's largest monopolists—those of tobacco and spirits.

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Ministry Shares Chisinau Stance on Dniester Ballot

AU0301154796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At today's weekly news conference at the foreign affairs ministers headquarters, spokesman Sorin Ducaru announced that the Interministerial Committee for European Integration's first quarterly session to be held this year will take place on Monday, 8 January, in Bucharest, under the chairmanship of the prime minister. [passage omitted]

The spokesman also announced that the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs fully supports the stance of the authorities in Chisinau, who rejected the referendum and elections held in the Dniester Region on 24 December last year.

Mr. Ducaru reasserted Romania's readiness to continue participating in the process of peaceful settlement of the conflict in the eastern part of the Republic of Moldova, both within the framework of the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe), and other European fora.

The Dniester Region is an integral part of the Republic of Moldova, asserted the Foreign Ministry spokesman, after which he stressed that its integrity and sovereignty must not be affected by pseudoelections organized by authorities who defy constitutional order in that country.

UDMR's Katona Calls For 'Military Protection'

AU0301132696 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 Dec 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Radical Adam Katona Criticizes Hungary Because It Does Not Assume Responsibility for the 'Military Protection of the Ethnic Hungarians' Beyond Its Borders"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Adam Katona, the leader of the Transylvanian Hungarian Initiative platform within the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], expressed his dissatisfaction over the fact that Hungary does not assume responsibility for the military protection of the ethnic Hungarians living beyond its borders. "We have sufficient reason to be concerned if we consider the fact that the government of our motherland does not intend to declare, at long last, that it assumes responsibility for the military protection of the ethnic Hungarians living in the successor countries," stated Katona in an ample interview he granted to the Bihor County weekly ERDELYI NAPLO. He added that Colonel General Gyorgy Keleti, the Hungarian defense minister, had no objections to the fact that "in the Szekler region a forced colonization is taking place by thousands of Romanian troops, for the purpose of ethnic cleansing of the ethnic Hungarians living here in compact communities."

During the past month, Katona, a representative of the radical wing within the UDMR, has launched violent attacks against the UDMR leaders, with his actions culminating in a hunger strike to protest the fact that they are "betraying the interests" of the Hungarian minority. In his interview he indirectly accuses UDMR President Bela Marko of having pushed the party in a moral and political crisis, and thus having contributed to the "diasporization and Ceangauization [Ceangau is a totally isolated Hungarian ethnic group in northeastern Romania] of the Hungarian national community in Romania."

PD Asserts Road to NATO 'Irreversible'

AU0301132096 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 23 Dec 95 p 3

[Democratic Party declaration on the Russian State Duma elections: "Romania Does Not Accept 'Spheres of Influence'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the elections held in Russia in December 1995, the press office of the Democratic Party [PD] has been authorized to issue the following statement:

1. The recent elections in Russia reveals the gratifying fact that a democratic process does exist in that country. Those elections took place by abiding by democratic norms and principles, which has also been confirmed by the PD observer.

2. Regarding the election results themselves, they consecrate the will of the Russian electorate and we consider that it would not be appropriate for us to make any assessments of the course Russian politics will follow in the future.

3. Nevertheless, it is our duty to take into consideration the opinions expressed during the electoral campaign by the leaders of the parties that won the elections, namely, those of the Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party, statements referring to the need to rebuild the influence sphere of an updated Soviet Union, which implies, by way of its consequences, an attempt to prejudice the national security of our country. Such opinions cause us concern. They are certainly unsuitable to contribute to the deepening of the democratic process in Europe or strengthen stability on our continent, in a moment when Europe's nations are expressing their will to proceed on the road for Democracy.

4. Romania, consequently observing the option expressed by the vast majority of the population, as well

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as its democratic political forces, is out to strengthen democracy and ensure its national security by integrating within euro-atlantic structures.

Romania is concentrating its efforts in that direction, not to Russia's detriment, but rather to its own benefit, and we may rightfully consider that Russia, too, in pursuing its national interests, should not achieve them at the expense of other nations, in general, or of Romania, in particular.

Hoping that democracy will continue to develop in Russia, the PD maintains that Russia may be an economic partner for Romania, if all regrettable past preconditions are eliminated.

5. It is the PD's conviction that the road freely chosen by our nation, to join the euro-atlantic world, is an irreversible one.

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Federal

Commentary Notes UNHCR Facing Great Challenge

LD0301181096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1740 GMT 3 Jan 96

[Article by Vladimir Holovka]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Jan 3 (TANJUG)—The U.N. High Commissioner's Office for Refugees (UNHCR) is facing the most difficult task since its establishment in 1951, U.N. sources said Wednesday in Geneva, following an official announcement that the working group for humanitarian issues regarding the repatriation of refugees from the former Yugoslavia would meet on January 16.

The meeting is to be attended by representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, all former Yugoslav republics and up to 40 other countries, and might be held at ministerial level.

UNHCR is to initiate in a few months the extremely complex operations of repatriating over four million refugees from Rwanda and about three million refugees from the former Yugoslavia.

Sources in Geneva believe this task will not be at all easy, but there can be no lasting peace either in Bosnia or Rwanda if the refugees do not return home.

Under the Dayton Agreement, all refugees from the Former Yugoslavia must return home, but the U.N. high commissioner for refugees Sadako Ogata insists on abiding by the Geneva Convention, i.e. the right to return but also the right to remain.

However, towns such as Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo that are to be returned to Republika Srpska (R.S.—Bosnian Serb state) under the Dayton Agreement, have been nearly completely destroyed by Croatian troops, who looted and burned all they could, and Serb refugees therefore have no place to which they can return.

Ogata is expected to answer all these questions on January 16 in Geneva when she is due to inform the participants of the UNHCR strategy for the mass repatriation in the Former Yugoslavia.

The UNHCR is believed to have already worked out this strategy in detail, taking into account its experience in similar actions over the past five years when nine million refugees were repatriated to Burma, Afghanistan, Vietnam, South Africa, Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique.

Since Croatia seceded by force from the former Yugoslav Federation in 1991, about 600,000 Serbs fled from Croatia to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

UNHCR is also facing the problem of about 700,000 refugees from the Former Yugoslavia who are staying in Western Europe illegally or with temporary permits. There are indications that some of these countries intend to get rid of refugees bypassing UNHCR plans and initiating their repatriation by themselves. UNHCR has appealed to them to refrain from such actions, but it remains to be seen to what extent they will heed the call.

Serbia

Army General Urges Rebalancing of Federal Budget

AU0401114996 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 95 p 4

[Report by Z. Miladinovic: "We Have Secured the Inviolability of 900 Kilometers of the Border"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Nis — We shall probably strive for a rebalancing of the adopted federal budget because the Yugoslav Army did not get even the necessary minimum, which in the next year will result in an even more restricted and graver situation than this year, General Dusan Samardzic, commander of the Yugoslav Army's 3d Army, said yesterday.

He announced at a news conference that "all good-intentioned people expect that the following year will, after all, be a time of stabilizing peace," and that "it is quite obvious that the rays of peace are slowly but surely overcoming the clouds of war."

General Samardzic added that the 3d Army, despite "extremely restricted material conditions," had succeeded in securing 900 km of the state border, stability in the Kosmet hot spot in cooperation with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and that the maneuvering component resulting from the activity of Yugoslav Army reservists had contributed to the calming of Tudjman's war ambitions. [sentence as published]

"It might sound absurd, but I believe that the leader's [Tudjman] furious words 'the notorious 211 armored brigade has arrived', spoken recently when the situation in the Srem-Baranja region hovered between war and peace, are actually the best illustration of our units' combat value," Samardzic said.

The commander of the 3d Army added that through "the various types of training of the reserve units," some 80,000 reserve troops and officers had passed through the 3d Army despite problems with call-ups, particularly in Nis. [passage omitted]

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Radicals Call Budget Forecast 'Science Fiction'

LD0301220196 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 2005 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 3 Jan (BETA)—The Serbian Radical Party (SRS) said today that the Serbian Government's calculation that the social product will grow by 19.4 percent this year is "science fiction."

A statement issued by this party says the budget that has been approved will cause an annual inflation rate of over 500 percent, so expectations of a growth in the social product "are extremely frivolous and amount to communist demagogy."

Belgrade Imposes Restrictions on Public Meetings

LD0301172796 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 3 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 3 Jan (TANJUG)—From now on, the citizens of Belgrade will be able to express their political and other public views by meeting in any one of the four designated parks of Belgrade.

At their last session City Assembly deputies decided to designate as adequate space for the meeting of citizens on the lawn next to the Jugoslavija hotel, The Friendship Park, the lawn in front of the Museum of Modern Art, and the Lower Town of the Kalemegdan castle.

The reason these spaces have been designated for mass meetings is that they will not cause major disruptions to traffic. [passage omitted]

Satellite TV Project To Include Bosnian Serbs

AU2912145495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 95 p 7

[Report by I. Rajovic: "Paris, London, ... Pale"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kraljevo—There can be no change in the situation in the country without objective television, Slobodan Rakitic, president of the People's Congressional Party [SNS], said at a party rally held in Kraljevo.

An objective Serb satellite television is a certain and imminent reality, Rakitic said, and presented his impressions about his recent visit to Paris where he attended the International Serb Congress assembly.

The whole project has been designed by Boro Vesnic, and it will be financially supported by our businessmen worldwide. Equipment for the Serb satellite television has already been procured and is currently in Paris where the studios are located, although the program will be broadcast from London, Rakitic explained.

The SNS president explained that Serb Republic representatives would be included in the project; formation of the Board of Directors is currently underway. It has been agreed that the newly established television would be a joint stock company in which 51 percent of the stock would be owned by the Association of Serbs. The rest would be released on the stock market, Rakitic said.

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